Vol. XXXIX. No. 153 *March 1950*

STUDIES

An Irish Quarterly Review

I. From Atom to Atomic Bomb ... ... *T. S. Wheeler*

II. Emily Brontë ... ... *B. G. MacCarthy*

III. Bishop Joseph Brown, O.S.B. ... ... *Basil Hemphill*

IV. Gregory VII and Modern Scholars ... *Aubrey Gwynn*

V. Some Impressions of Berlin ... ... *John Murray*

VI. Historic Galway Convents: Part II. ... *Helena Concannon*

VII. Father Michael Browne, S.J. ... ... *Alfred O'Rahilly*

VIII. Was John Keogh an Informer? ... *Francis Finegan*

IX. Origins of Irish Nationalism ... ... *Diarmuid Murtagh*

X. Irish Bardic Poems: No. 93 ... *Lambert MacKenna*

XI. Place of Science in Human Affairs ... *P. J. MacLaughlin*

XII. Reviews of Books

The Educational Company of Ireland Ltd.
89 Talbot Street · Dublin

Editorial Offices: 35 Lower Leeson Street · Dublin

Single Copies - - - - 4s. net
Annual Subscription - Ireland and England - 17s. net
Annual Subscription - All Other Countries - 18s. net

Subscriptions are payable in advance

Entered as Second Class Matter at the Post Office in St. Louis

Coláiste na h-Iolscoile, Gaillimh

Tá Cúrsaí iomlána i nGaeilge le fagáil sa gColáiste seo ar Laidin, Sréigis, Nuamaiseact, Tíreolaíocht, Stair, Seandálaíocht, Tráchtáil, Cuntasaíocht, Geilleagar, Oideachas, Fisic Thurghnamach, Ceimic, Luibeolas, Fisic Matamaitic, agus Filosofaíocht.

Tá Cúrsaí iomlána i mBéarla le fagáil sa gColáiste seo ar gach Dáimh léighinn dá mbaineann le Iolscoil Náisiúnta na hÉireann.

Tairgeann an Coláiste Scoláireachta coitchiannta ar fiú £2,100 sa mbliadain agus ten a coir sin cuireann £1,350 i n-áirithe gach bliadain le h-agaid Scoláireacht do Gaeilgeoirí ar an nGaedhealtacht.

Tairgeann an Roinn Oideachais Roinnt Scoláireacht gach bliadain. Is fiú £150 an bliadain gach ceann aca. Na Micléighinn ar a mbronnfar na Scoláireachta seo, ní mór dóib a bheit 'na Micléighinn sa gColáiste seo.

Tá gach caoi agus deis ann le labairt na Gaeilge do chleachtadh taobh istigh agus taobh amuigh den Choláiste.

Tuilleamh eoluis le fagáil ó Meadhránaidhe an Choláiste.

PROVIDENCE WOOLLEN MILLS

FOXFORD, CO. MAYO, IRELAND

Offer the greatest variety of pure woollen goods ever produced by an Irish mill–viz. Blankets, Rugs, Ladies' and Men's Wear, Scarves, etc.

INQUIRIES SOLICITED

Telephone No.: "Foxford 4."
Telegraphic Address: "Providence, Foxford."

HEATING.
VENTILATING.
It is real economy to see that the fabric of your buildings is properly protected and the comfort and the well-being of the occupants ensured. Musgrave Heating and Ventilating Installations are planned for existing or projected buildings, by an efficient staff of engineers
Let us give you the benefit of over 60 years experience.
Musgrave
& CO. (DUBLIN) LTD
29 MERRION SQUARE NORTH
DUBLIN
Phone 64972

Coláiste Ollscoile, Corcaigh.

(Ollscoil na h-Éireann)

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, CORK.

Lán-Cúrsaí i gcóir Céimeann agus Daingintar iad na h-adbarsaid seo:—

Arts *Celtic Studies* *Medicine* *Dentistry*
Science *Law* *Education* *Commerce*
Engineering *Dairy Science* *Music*

Is féidir Cúrsaí áirithe do dhéanamh thé Gaeilg.

Cun lán-eolas ar Scoláireachtaib agus ar Chúrsaí d'fagáil, ní foláir gach leictir do feólad cun an CLÁRADÓRA.

Oirdireacht compórdach le fagáil san **HONAN HOSTEL** ag fearaib Caitliceacha agus i **LA RETRAITE** ag mnáib Caitliceacha. Tuairisc iomlán orthu san le fagáil ó'n gCoimeádaidhe agus ó'n Abbmáthair fé seach. Is féidir fheirin liosta de lóistinib ceadaighthe d'fagáil ach a long ó Rúnaidhe an Choláiste.

Some Courses can be taken through the medium of Irish.

For particulars as to Scholarships and Courses all communications should be addressed to the **Registrar.**

Comfortable accommodation is provided for Catholic men in the HONAN HOSTEL and for Catholic women in LA RETRAITE. Particulars may be obtained from the **Warden** and **Rev. Superioress** respectively. A list of approved Lodgings can also be had from the **Secretary** of the College.

THE
NATIONAL
CITY BANK
LIMITED

Offers to the public a complete Banking Service

CURRENT AND DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS. HOME SAFES FOR THRIFT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS. BILLS DISCOUNTED. EXECUTOR AND TRUSTEE BUSINESS.

10 COLLEGE GREEN, DUBLIN

THE
PATRIOTIC Assurance Company Ltd.

FIRE, ACCIDENT, WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION, BURGLARY, PLATE GLASS, MOTOR, &c., &c.

Registered and Head Office **9 College Green, DUBLIN, C1**

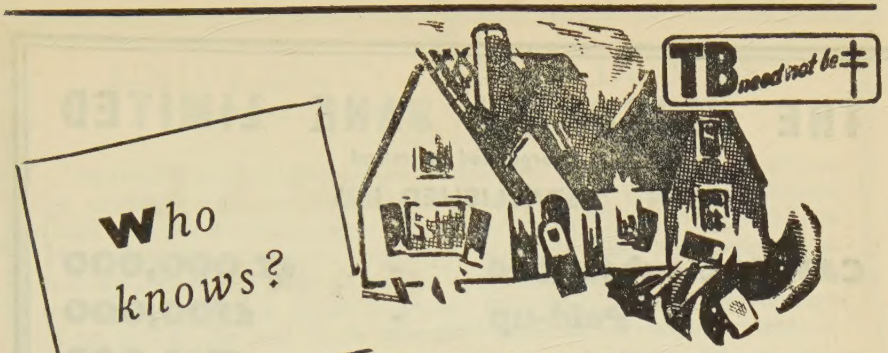
CAPITAL FULLY PAID £150,000

DIRECTORS

THOMAS GEOGHEGAN, Esq., F.C.A., Chairman
Rt. Hon. EARL OF WICKLOW
Major T. D. HALLINAN
F. CYRIL MARTIN
T. H. CORRIGAN, Managing Director
J. G. MILLIGAN, Secretary

Low Rates of Premium and prompt and liberal Settlement of Claims
The position of the Company is amply secured independent of Capital

Proposal Form and all Information on application to Company's Agents or to the Company



This could be YOUR house. Little things neglected often result in big tragedies ; and fires arise from most unexpected sources—and at most unexpected times. Are YOU prepared for such an eventuality? Or would its occurrence ruin you financially? Save yourself unnecessary trouble and worry by insuring your property with a company of sound financial standing—an Irish Office

The

HIBERNIAN

FIRE AND GENERAL INSURANCE CO., LTD.

46-49 *DAME STREET, DUBLIN*

O'Keeffe's

THE NATIONAL BANK

LIMITED

ESTABLISHED 1835

34 COLLEGE GREEN
DUBLIN

CAPITAL £7,500,000.

13 OLD BROAD STREET
LONDON, E.C.2

EXECUTOR and TRUSTEE

Appointments accepted as Executor and Trustee of Wills, Trustee of Settlements, Trustee for Debenture Holders, etc. The Bank will act jointly with another Executor or Trustee if desired and will have regard to the wishes of customers in the employment of Solicitors and other professional agents.

INCOME TAX

Expert attention given to Repayment Claims, Returns for Assessment, etc.

FULL INFORMATION MAY BE OBTAINED FROM ANY BRANCH OF THE BANK OR BY DIRECT APPLICATION TO ITS PRINCIPAL OFFICES

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

Incorporated in Ireland

ESTABLISHED 1825

CAPITAL subscribed	-	**£2,000,000**
Paid-up	-	**£500,000**
RESERVE FUND	-	**£750,000**

HEAD OFFICE

COLLEGE GREEN, DUBLIN

SEVEN DUBLIN BRANCHES

Over One Hundred Branches and Sub-Branches throughout Ireland

The Bank undertakes the Recovery and Adjustment of INCOME TAX
The Bank also undertakes the Offices of EXECUTOR AND TRUSTEE

LONDON AGENTS

LLOYDS BANK LTD., 72 LOMBARD ST., LONDON, E.C.3.

THE INDUSTRIAL CREDIT COMPANY LIMITED

AUTHORISED CAPITAL	-	£5,000,000
SUBSCRIBED CAPITAL	-	£1,000,000
PAID-UP CAPITAL	-	£812,500

Offices: **9 LEINSTER STREET, DUBLIN**

UNIVERSITY HALL, DUBLIN

FOUNDED AND DIRECTED BY THE JESUIT FATHERS

University Hall is maintained exclusively as an academic residence for students who are pursuing their studies in University College, Dublin. The buildings stand close by the site of University College. They can accommodate seventy students—an academic community sufficiently large to furnish opportunity for the mutual culture in social intercourse which is among the most important advantages of university life and is an essential factor in university education.

TERMS

There are three Terms in the year: Michaelmas Term, from the beginning of the Session till the Christmas Vacation; Hilary Term, between Christmas and Easter; and Trinity Term, from Easter till the Summer Vacation. The opening and close of Terms coincide with the opening and close of Lectures at University College, Dublin.

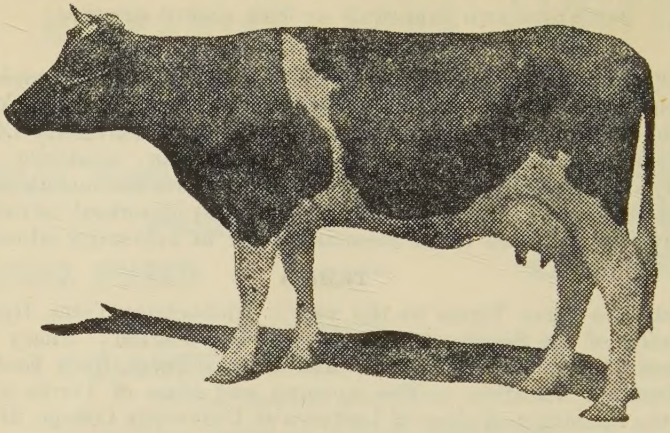
Parents residing abroad can make special arrangements for Students' vacation expenses.

Applications for admission and inquiries for Fees and further information should be addressed to THE PRESIDENT
University Hall, DUBLIN

BOOKS!

ALL THE BEST
AND THE BEST OF THE
REST

JAMES DUFFY & CO., LIMITED,
38 Westmoreland Street, Dublin.



galtee cheese

First Favourite with young and old alike for its delicious flavour and nourishing qualities, Galtee is made from the milk of prize friesian cows.

whitethorn

An excellent cheese that appeals to those who prefer the gruyere type—it possesses a distinctive mild flavour.

three counties

A cheese that has quickly made a name for itself. With its arresting flavour this spreadable cheese stands unsurpassed for purity and deliciousness.

three famous cheeses

made by

MITCHELSTOWN CREAMERIES

CO. CORK

Forthcoming Books

THE HISTORY OF PARTITION

DENIS GWYNN.

Was the partition of Ireland part of a deliberate policy adopted by the British Government in order to keep a foothold in Ireland? Does the fact that the Unionists say "No" to every approach mean that the problem is insoluble? These and many other questions are treated objectively in this volume.

The author quotes from Nationalist and Unionist sources and documents and gives for the first time an account of the Buckingham Palace Conference.

Demy 8vo. 224 pp. Probable price 12/6.

TOWN AND REGIONAL PLANNING ACTS

JOHN F. MILEY and F. C. KING, B.L.

Town and regional planning is assuming greater importance owing to the rapid housing development which is taking place on all sides at the present time. This book on the law of Town and Regional Planning in Ireland is the first authoritative exposition of the law on the subject. Lawyers, officers and members of local authorities, builders, property owners and public men will find it most valuable in throwing light on a little understood branch of the law.

Demy 8vo. 180 pp. Probable price 12/6.

HISTORY OF MEDICINE IN IRELAND

JOHN FINLAYSON FLEETWOOD, M.B., D.P.H.

The first reference to an event of medical interest in Ireland is noted in the *Annals of the Four Masters* and occurred about 940 B.C. From this start, Dr. Fleetwood brings his readers through three thousand years of history, tracing faithfully the growth of an important service and summarising its present importance in national life.

Those studying medicine, surgeons and physicians and the general public will find in this book much that is of absorbing interest.

Demy 8vo. 354 pp. Illustrated. Probable price 18/- nett.

BROWNE & NOLAN LIMITED

41-42 NASSAU STREET, DUBLIN

and all Booksellers

CORK **BELFAST**

THE
CLARENCE HOTEL

The
City's Most Modern Hotel

WELLINGTON QUAY
DUBLIN

Telephone : 76178 - 79 - 80

O'KEEFFE'S

Stained Glass Artists
Sculptors
Church Decorators

EARLEY & CO.
Camden Art Studios
UPPER CAMDEN STREET
DUBLIN

TELEPHONE 51303 ESTABLISHED 100 YEARS

Ecclesiastical Vestments

WE are specialists in the manufacture of Ecclesiastical Vestments and invite your enquiries when next you require either inexpensive or the most elaborate Vestments, Benediction Copes, Dalmatics, Canopea, Processional Canopies, Processional and Sodality Banners, etc. All classes of Altar Linens, Clerical Stocks and Birettas.

MARY FORREST LTD.

47 HENRY STREET

(Over Williams & Co.)

DUBLIN

PHONE NO. 70119

1,000,000 SPRING COMFORT

without a single spring!

Just imagine the luxury of a *million* springy cushions of softest, honeycombed LATEX—and you'll begin to realise that DUNLOPILLO is an entirely new conception—in fact, a SENSATION in comfort! But that's not all . . . it is more hygienic, trouble-free and lasting than any other mattress. Many thousands have been in constant use for 10 to 14 years.

PRICES: *3ft. wide:* £9 9 0. *3ft. 6ins. wide:* £11 0 6.
4ft. wide: £12 12 0. *4ft. 6ins. wide:* £14 3 6.
Special sizes supplied to order

DUNLOPILLO

The Original

LATEX FOAM MATTRESS

THE IRISH DUNLOP CO. LTD., LR. ABBEY ST., DUBLIN

The most popular Daily Missal.

THE ROMAN MISSAL

IN LATIN AND ENGLISH FOR
EVERY DAY OF THE YEAR.

In conformity with the very latest decrees.

INTRODUCTION AND LITURGICAL NOTES BY

ABBOT CABROL, O.S.B.

Revised Edition.

A feature of the Cabrol Roman Missal is that it follows in every respect the *"Missale Romanum"* used by the priest at the Altar; also it has a valuable Introduction and interesting Liturgical Notes preceding each feast. These Notes explain the origin of the feast in history or tradition, or give a short biography of the saint whose feast is commemorated. The quaint wood-engravings, copied from Missals of the Middle Ages, add a great charm to the book, which also contains a Table of Movable Feasts.

Included is a

SUPPLEMENT FOR THE DIOCESES OF IRELAND

BINDINGS AND STYLES.

Each book contains four Markers, Head and Tail Bands and all cases are blind blocked, with title in gold.

No. 254.	Black CLOTH, round corners, red edges ...	18s.
No. 250.	Black LEATHER, round corners, gilt edges ...	25s.

SPECIAL BINDING DE LUXE.

No. 640.	Black MOROCCO (limp), round corners, gilt tooling round inside covers, red under gilt edges ...	37s. 6d.

THE TALBOT PRESS LIMITED
89 TALBOT STREET, DUBLIN

A RECENT PUBLICATION

Dómhnall Ó Conaill

An interesting and absorbing biography of Daniel O'Connell

by

An tAthair Antoine Ó Dubhir

"Déarfainn go bhfuil an leabhar seo leis an Sagart Ó Duibhir comh maith ar a lán slighthe le h-aon leabhar ar bith d'ar léigh mé faoi Ó Conaill i mBéarla go fóill."

—AN tULTACH

"Is trua gan sreath leabhar mar é seo againn sa Ghaeilg ar cheannairí na hÉireann i rith na n-aoiseann ina bhfaigheadh an gnáth-léitheoir cuntas beacht intaofa orthu. Tá sé sin le fáil sa cheann seo."

—INDIU

5s. NET

Obtainable direct from

FOILSEACHÁIN RIALTAIS

3-4, COLLEGE STREET, DUBLIN

or through any bookseller

An Súm

IRISH MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION

ANALECTA HIBERNICA No. 16. Includes preliminary report by Rev. E. Mac Fhinn on certain documents in the Vatican Archives and a study by Rev. A. Gwynn, S.J., of the Black Book of Christ Church. 7s. 6d

Corpus Inscriptionum Insularum Celticarum. Vol. II. By R. A. S. Macalister. Particulars and diagrams of more than 500 inscriptions older than 1200 A.D. and mainly Christian. ... ... £1 10s.

PARLIAMENTS AND COUNCILS OF MEDIAEVAL IRELAND. Ed. H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles. Mediaeval documents, with introduction on the nature of parliamentary institutions in Ireland. ... ... £1 5s.

ACTA SANCTORUM HIBERNIAE. By John Colgan, O.F.M. Foreword by Rev. Brendan Jennings, O.F.M. Facsimile of the Louvain publication of 1645. Folio. Pp. iv 23 936 ... ... £6 6s.

CORRESPONDENCE OF EMILY, DUCHESS OF LEINSTER. Vol. 1. Letters of Emily Duchess of Leinster; James, First Duke of Leinster; Caroline Fox, Lady Holland. Ed. Brian Fitzgerald. An intimate account of social and domestic life during the period 1752-74. £1 10s.

BOOKS OF SURVEY AND DISTRIBUTION. Vol. 1. Co. ROSCOMMON. Ed. R. C. Simington. Valuable for family history (period 1641-1688) and topography. With reproductions of 17th century maps. ... ... £2 15s.

COMMENTARIUS RINUCCINIANUS. Ed. Rev. Stanislaus Kavanagh, O.F.M. Cap. On Irish affairs during the period 1645-66. Vol. I: £1. Vol. II: £1 10s. Vol. III: £1 10s. Vol. IV: £1 5s. Vol. V: £2 2s. *READY SHORTLY:* Vol. VI. (Editor's account of the history and authorship of the MS. With 17 plates. English synopsis and index by N. B. White.)

ANALECTA HIBERNICA No. 17. Proceedings of the Dublin Society of United Irishmen. Ed. R. B. McDowell; Index of will abstracts in the Genealogical Office, Dublin, by P. B. Eustace. 10s. 6d.

PUBLISHED BY THE STATIONERY OFFICE, DUBLIN

Obtainable from

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS SALES OFFICE

3 & 4 COLLEGE STREET, DUBLIN

or through any Bookseller.

The Irish Digest

¶ The Irish Digest presents each month a pageant of Irish life and Irish ideals, brightly condensed from the best that is being written in books and periodicals at home and abroad, by Irish writers or about Ireland.

¶ *Here is a Digest with a difference. Send it to your friends and relatives abroad.*

¶ SUBSCRIPTION RATES
1 year, 12/6, 2 years, £1/1/6d. Your own and a gift subscription for one year — £1/1/6d. All post free.

¶ MONTHLY — ONE SHILLING

Printed by CAHILL & CO. LTD., *Parkgate Printing Works, Dublin*
Published by C. J. FALLON, LTD. 9b, *Lower Abbey Street, Dublin*

EMERALD SCHOOL READERS

A NEW SERIES

Introductory Book
Beginners' Book
Preparatory Book
Junior Book

Fully Sanctioned

FRENCH

FRENCH GRAMMAR AND COMPOSITION
By Very Rev. J. A. MORAN, S.M., B.A.

MON LIVRE DE FRANCAIS By Rev. J. DAWSON, S.M. (New Revised Edition)

ENGLISH

SPELLING BOOK
FIRST ENGLISH GRAMMAR
LESSONS IN GRAMMAR
ENGLISH GRAMMAR
POEMS OF IRISH HISTORY
GENERAL INFORMATION

ALEX. THOM & CO. LTD., Publishers, CROW ST., DUBLIN

Ronald Knox

TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE

is available in the following publications:

THE HOLY BIBLE

In three uniform volumes Demy octavo (Library edition)

THE OLD TESTAMENT

I. GENESIS TO ESTHER

II. JOB TO MACHABEES (ready shortly)

21s. each

THE NEW TESTAMENT.

12s. 6d. each

THE NEW TESTAMENT

The original edition. Cap. octavo Leather cloth, red edges gilt, 15s.

THE FOUR GOSPELS

In separate pamphlet form

Paper covers 8d. each

THE BOOK OF PSALMS

In the new Latin text of the Pontifical Biblical Institute, with Mgr. Knox's translation on the facing page

Pluvis 12*s.* 6*d.*

THE SMALL MISSAL

For Sundays and Feast Days with the text of Epistles and Gospels from Knox translation

Size 5¾ x 3¼ *inches* 5/-

BURNS OATES

22 D'OLIER STREET, DUBLIN

and all Booksellers

RETROSPECT

WINDOW ON MAYNOOTH.
Denis Meehan. 12/6.

SEEDS OF CONTEMPLATION.
Thomas Merton. 8/6.

ELECTED SILENCE.
Thomas Merton. 15/-

THROUGH GOD'S UNDER-WORLD.
Father George. 10/6.

BISHOP SHANAHAN, C.S.Sp.
J. Jordan, C.S.Sp. 16/-

THE CHURCH OF CHRIST.
A. H. Ryan, D.D., D.Ph. 8/6

MARY, THE BLESSED, THE BELOVED.
Timothy Harris. 7/6.

FR. MICHAEL BROWNE, S.J.
Thomas Hurley, S.J. 12/6.

THE IRISH MILITIA (1793/1816).
Sir Henry McAnally. 21/-.

INSURGENT WICKLOW.
Myles V. Ronan, D.Litt. 7/6.

LIFE AND LEGEND OF ST. PATRICK.
Ludwig Bieler. 12/6.

NOW WELCOME SUMMER.
Francis Herlihy. 8/6.

BLESSED MARIA GORETTI.
John Carr, C.SS.R. 3/6.

THE MIRACLE OF THE MOUNTAINS.
I. M. Kingsbury. 3/6.

THE ARMOUR OF CHRIST.
B. J. Kelly, C.S.Sp. 8/6,

WHAT JESUS SAW FROM THE CROSS.
A. D. Sertillanges. 8/6.

THE DARKNESS IS PASSED.
Thomas Moore, S.J. 8/6.

THE WORDS OF THE MASS.
R. Butler, S.J. 6/-.

SOME NOVELS

THE LIGHT OF STARS.
Evelyn Voss Wise. 8/6.

THE PILGRIM CAME LATE.
Mary Purcell. 8/6.

NOW AND FOREVER.
Mary V. Jordan. 8/6.

CRUMBLING CASTLE.
Patricia Lavelle. 12/6.

CLONMORE & REYNOLDS LTD.

39 KILDARE STREET, DUBLIN

AND ALL BOOKSELLERS

FROM ATOM TO ATOMIC BOMB

THE CHEMIST THROUGH THE AGES

BY T. S. WHEELER, D.SC.
Professor of Chemistry, University College, Dublin

J. J. BECHER in his *Physicae subterraneae* published in 1669 wrote of himself, a chemist, as " one to whom neither a gorgeous home, nor security of occupation, nor fame, nor health appeals ; for me rather my chemicals amid the smoke, soot and flame of coals blown by the bellows. Stronger than Hercules, I work forever in an Augean stable, blind almost from the furnace glare, my breathing affected by the vapour of mercury. I am another Mithridates, saturated with poison. Deprived of the esteem and company of others, a beggar in things material, in things of the mind I am a Croesus. Yet among all these evils I seem to live so happily that I would die rather than change places with a Persian King."[1] Nearly three hundred years have passed since these lines were penned ; but the chemist still lives in his laboratory remote from his fellow-men, who, if they think of him at all, believe that either he keeps a shop or else he practises analysis. Nevertheless, the importance of the work of the chemist can hardly be over-emphasized. No one can claim a closer connection with the material progress of mankind, since it is he who provides a large proportion of the materials which we use. He works on the production of fertilizers and drugs, foods and explosives, cosmetics and atomic bombs. He stands behind the farmer in his field, the doctor on his rounds, the grocer at his counter, the beauty at her mirror, the bomber pilot over his target ; tinker, tailor, soldier, sailor, all require the products of his skill.

I

The chemist has come a long way to all this achievement ; the knowledge, theoretical and practical, which has flowered in the production of an atomic bomb has taken thousands of years to acquire, for the practice of chemistry began in ancient times. Sixty centuries ago gold, silver and copper were extracted and worked in Egypt and Mesopotamia, while indigo was obtained from the plant by the Egyptians before 2000 B.C. The large-scale manufacture of glass in factories began before 1350 B.C. The chemical operations involved in these and other industries were, it would seem, carried on with considerable skill, but without any theoretical background : the Egyptians were not interested in philosophy.

The Greeks on the other hand had little care for practice. They speculated freely and gave to the science of chemistry two conceptions of fundamental importance : the idea of an element and the idea of an atom.

[1] The notes will be found at the end of the article.

Their notion of an element differed somewhat from the modern conception, due to Boyle, of a substance which cannot be further decomposed by chemical means. Thales (600 B.C.) supposed that water was the only element; Anaximenes (530 B.C.) suggested that air was the basal substance; Herakleitos (500 B.C.) thought it was fire, while Empedokles (460 B.C.) scooped the pool by postulating four elements: water, air, fire, earth. Aristotle (384-322 B.C.) introduced the idea of a primary matter with which were associated four fundamental qualities: hotness, coldness, moistness, dryness. By imposing these in pairs on the fundamental matter he obtained the four elements of Empedokles: thus water is moist and cold; fire is hot and dry, and so on. Aristotle's idea of one fundamental matter gave rise, as we shall see, to the alchemical belief that transmutation of base metals into gold was possible.

The Greek notion of atoms was more in line with modern ideas. Aristotle says that Leukippos (480 B.C.) was the real founder of the atomic theory. This theory was extended by Demokritos of Abdera (400 B.C.), whose views were immortalised by the Roman Lucretius (60 B.C.) in his famous poem *De Rerum Natura*. We quote from the well-known translation into rhymed heroic couplets by Creech (1682), Lucretius, it should be mentioned, called atoms "seeds"—

> But solid seeds exist, which fill their place;
> And make a diff'rence betwixt full and space.
> These, as I prov'd before, no active flame,
> No subtle cold can pierce, and break their frame,
> Tho' ev'ry compound yields: no pow'rful blow,
> No subtle wedge divide, or break in two. . . .
> If seeds then solid are, they must endure
> Eternally, from force, from stroke secure.[2]

II

The two streams of Egyptian practice and Greek theory merged in Alexandria, which had been founded by Alexander the Great in 331 B.C., and it was in this cosmopolitan city that chemistry had its real origin about the beginning of the Christian era. The term "chemistry" first occurs in an edict of Diocletian (A.D. 296) ordering the burning of Egyptian books on the subject. The name is said to have been derived from an ancient name for Egypt related to the black colour of the soil, so that chemistry is the Egyptian Black Art.

Treatises written in Greek at Alexandria about A.D. 100 are the first text-books on chemistry. They contain much practical information, and the diagrams of chemical apparatus are surprisingly modern in appearance. The treatises also suggest the possibility of transmuting base metals into gold; this idea, based on the views of Aristotle was developed in Alexandria

and influenced the practice of chemistry for over 1500 years. About A.D. 640 the Arabs conquered Egypt and chemical knowledge passed to them. Their most famous chemist was Jabir ibn Hayyan (*circa* 800) who lived at Baghdad under Harun al-Rashid of *Arabian Nights* fame. Jabir, while he accepted the Aristotelian doctrine of a primeval matter and four elements, added the special chemical elements of mercury and sulphur. He regarded all metals as containing the principles of these two elements in various proportions: gold contained much of the principle of mercury, lead a high proportion of that of sulphur. This theory gave fresh impetus to the search for that will-o'-the-wisp of mediaeval chemistry, the Philosophers' Stone, which would turn base metals into gold.

The Arabs brought chemistry with them into Spain, and about the middle of the twelfth century it spread into Western Europe. The great Dominican St. Albert (1193-1280; *doctor universalis*) and the Franciscan Roger Bacon (1214-1292; *doctor mirabilis*) were among the first Western European chemists. Roger Bacon was keenly interested in experimental science and, though he was a firm believer in transmutation, emphasised the importance of chemistry in the practice of medicine. He is also remembered as the discoverer of gunpowder. St. Albert appears to be, so far, the only chemist to have been canonized. His *De Mineralibus* has sections on chemistry and on alchemy, that branch of chemistry which dealt with the transmutation of base metals into gold. He came to the conclusion that alchemy was a pretended science, calling it "a beggarly union of genius and fire". As a result of his views on alchemy, the schoolmen lost interest in chemistry generally. The science fell on evil days, and throughout the middle ages was often practised by charlatans who wandered over Europe looking for dupes on whom to impose their fraudulent experiments.

III

The alchemists, the chief practitioners of chemistry from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries, never succeeded in their main object; but the great amount of practical chemical work which they carried out led to the discovery of many substances, such as alcohol, mineral acids and metallic salts. In the sixteenth century they were succeeded by the Iatro-chemists or medical chemists. These were concerned chiefly with the application of chemistry to the preparation of remedies, a branch of the science which had already been discussed by Roger Bacon. The founder of this school Theophrastus Bombast von Hohenheim, who called himself Paracelsus (greater than Celsus), was born in 1493 in Switzerland. His father a doctor taught him medicine and chemistry. Paracelsus obtained a degree of M.D. at Ferrara and in 1527 was appointed Professor of Medicine at Basel. He signalised his appointment by burning earlier chemical works with sulphur and nitre, expressing the hope that their authors were suffering

a similar fate. His theories on the treatment of disease attracted attention, but his bombastic nature (the term comes from his name) made him many enemies; and when he had the temerity to overcharge a Canon whom he had treated for gout, he was expelled from Basel in 1529 and became a wanderer until his death in 1541. His enemies stated that he died as a result of a debauch in an inn at Salzburg—" on a bench in the chimney corner "; but others assert that he was thrown down a steep incline by agents of the medical profession, whom he had criticised and had unfavourably contrasted with the humble and hard-working chemist in his leather apron. In spite of his defects of character Paracelsus achieved much. He added a third element, the principle of salt, to the sulphur and mercury of the alchemists and he turned chemists' minds from alchemy to chemotherapy, popularising the use of opium, mercury, lead, arsenic, sulphur, iron, copper sulphate, tinctures and alcoholic extracts. He considered that the doctor should know physics, chemistry, theology and astrology, so that he does not lack affinity with those who at present plan courses in medicine.

It was on the practical side, however, that chemistry progressed during these centuries; Agricola (1494-1555), who is known as " the father of mineralogy," wrote *De Re Metallica* one of the first treatises on technical chemistry. In it he describes all the mining and metallurgical processes then extant. The first European text-book on general chemistry (*Alchymia* 1597) was written by Libavius (1540-1616), who discusses reactions and analytical tests; he points out that the salts present in mineral waters may be determined by an examination of the shapes of the crystals left when the water has evaporated. He also published (1606) plans for a laboratory which had water laid on and contained a number of rooms for specific purposes, including a store-room, low-temperature room, a room for sand-baths and water-baths, a wood-store, library, and a wine-cellar—modern architects have less regard for the comfort of the chemist[3]. Van Helmont (1577-1644) was the last of the iatrochemists and is regarded as the link between the alchemists and the modern chemists. He was first to work systematically with gases, indeed he introduced the term " gas". He was a modern in his realization of the importance of quantitative work.

IV

Although the first sixteen centuries of the Christian era produced a vast amount of miscellaneous chemical knowledge, a unifying principle to enable all this knowledge to be classified was lacking. The Greek and later views on elements had no experimental basis and were useless for the interpretation of experimental results. It was Robert Boyle's practical definition of an element as the limit of chemical analysis (*circa* 1660) which transformed chemistry. Boyle (1627-1691) was born at Lismore Castle.

He has been described in a famous cliché as " The Father of Chemistry and the son of the Earl of Cork."[4] He was the fourteenth child of the great Earl of Cork, and he is regarded as the father of modern chemistry not only because of his recognition of the true nature of the chemical element, but also because he realized the necessity of studying chemistry as an independent science and not as an adjunct of alchemy or medicine. Further he stressed the importance of controlling speculation by planned experiment. The volume of his published work, theoretical and experimental, is large ; perhaps his most important book is *The Sceptical Chemist* (1661). He believed in the atomic theory, which he employed to explain chemical changes ; but it was left for Dalton to give quantitative precision to the Greek idea and to incorporate it into the science of chemistry. Although mainly interested in chemistry, Boyle carried out much important work in physics ; " Boyle's Law " is his best known contribution in this field.

Once Boyle had distinguished satisfactorily between elements and compounds, chemistry made progress ; for it became possible to determine which substances were elements and to ascribe compounds to the elements which they contained. The accumulation of material of this kind was slow. The famous French chemist Lavoisier (1743-1794) published in his *Traité Elémentaire de Chimie* (1789) the first table of chemical elements ; it contained the names of less than 30 known species. The phlogiston theory—which flourished from 1669 until about 1777, when it was overthrown by Lavoisier—had delayed progress. The phlogistonists believed that combustible bodies and metals lost an imaginary constituent called phlogiston when burned or calcined. Lavoisier, of course, showed that oxygen was absorbed in combustion. He played a leading part in developing a rational system of chemical nomenclature which has largely survived to this day ; a system of this kind could be developed only when it became possible to relate elements and compounds. Unfortunately, in addition to being a chemist, Lavoisier was also a farmer-general of the revenue (? Revenue Commissioner) and was, accordingly, guillotined in 1794. The President of the Tribunal which tried Lavoisier made the oft-quoted statement : " The Republic does not need scientists."[5] Except in times of stress modern governments tend to the same view, though normally they prefer to starve scientists rather than to guillotine them. Lavoisier is, as far as is known, the only chemist to be beheaded ; Webster, Professor of Chemistry at Harvard, was however hanged in 1850 for the murder of a wealthy doctor, George Parkman, from whom he had been forced to borrow owing to the inadequacy of his professorial salary. Parkman, it may be mentioned, had endowed the chair of anatomy held by Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes—a chair with such diversified duties that Holmes called it a settee rather than a chair.

The Greek view of the atomic nature of matter never wholly perished—

Boyle and Newton, for example, accepted the theory—yet it was of little use to the chemist until the concept of an element had been clarified. Time was required, after a sufficient number of elements and compounds had been characterized, to enable quantitative data on the combination of elements to be accumulated. In 1789 William Higgins (1768-1825), who was at one time Chemist to the Apothecaries' Company of Ireland and later Librarian and Professor of Chemistry and Mineralogy to the Royal Dublin Society, put forward original views on the manner in which the elementary particles of elements combined to form compounds. His theory was, however, vitiated by the false assumption that the weights of these particles of the various elements were the same. His real claim to fame lies in the fact that he foreshadowed what is known as the law of multiple proportions and the idea of valency bonds. The well-known Irish chemist W. K. Sullivan[6], who was in contact with relatives of Higgins, wrote in 1849 that Higgins was a man of great abilities " but totally deficient in energy and in the ambition of working out to the end any happy idea in science which might strike him". Judging by our critics, Higgins is not unique among his countrymen in the possession of these defects.

V

The modern theory of the chemical atom is due to John Dalton (1766-1844), who about 1803 assigned to the atoms of each element a definite weight relative to that of hydrogen. The truth of his theory could be seen from the quantitative laws of chemical combination ; one of these, the law of multiple proportions, had (as stated above) been foreshadowed by William Higgins. There was, however, a defect in Dalton's theory in that it provided no certain way of determining the number of atoms present in a molecule, the smallest particle of an element or compound capable of independent existence. This led to ambiguity in atomic weights. The Italian physicist Avogadro (1776-1856), by his hypothesis (1811) that equal volumes of gases under the same external conditions contain the same number of molecules, removed this defect ; but, unfortunately, his ideas were neglected for nearly 50 years. Consequently, a great deal of confusion reigned for lack of a certain system of atomic weights. However, in 1858, Cannizzaro (1826-1910) resurrected his countryman's hypothesis, and with its acceptance the unambiguous determination of atomic weights became possible.

As Dalton's theory developed, efforts were made to find relationships among the atomic weights of the various elements. Success was eventually achieved by the Russian chemist Mendelejeff (1834-1907), who in 1869 published a classification of the elements called the Periodic Table. As happens frequently in science, others put forward similar arrangements about the same time ; but his is the one to have stood the test of time.

Mendeljeff showed that, by arranging elements in the order of increasing atomic weights, it was possible to bring together in groups elements of similar chemical properties—in his own words " the properties of the elements are in periodic dependence upon their atomic weights". The development of the Periodic Table contributed greatly to the systematization of chemistry ; it enabled faulty atomic weights to be corrected and the properties of missing elements to be predicted. The fact that elements could be classified in groups with similar chemical properties indicated that the atoms themselves might be constructed of the same fundamental particles—a return to the Greek idea of a primary matter.

Actually the suggestion that the fundamental units were hydrogen atoms had been put forward (1815-1816) by Prout (1785-1850). He was led to this view because the crude atomic weights then available indicated that these weights might be exact multiples of the atomic weight of hydrogen. The enunciation of this " law " gave rise to much work on the accurate determination of atomic weights which seemed to show that it was not true. The Belgian chemist Stas (1813-1891), who began about 1842 a classical series of atomic weight determinations extending over 40 years with " an almost absolute confidence in the exactness of the law of Prout," eventually as the results of his experiments " arrived at the complete conviction, the entire certainty so far as certainty is possible on such a subject, that the law of Prout . . . is only an illusion, a pure hypothesis definitely contradicted by experiment "[7]. Yet chemists, including Stas, realized that atomic weights on the hydrogen scale approached whole numbers more closely than could be accounted for on the law of probabilities. Prout's law had a basis of truth, but he was ahead of his time and a century was to pass before it was properly understood ; a knowledge of the structure of the hitherto impenetrable atom was required.

VI

In 1874 the Irish physicist G. Johnstone Stoney (1826-1911), professor of Natural Philosophy in Queen's College, Galway, and secretary of the Royal Dublin Society, pointed out that the results of Faraday's experiments, carried out in 1833, on the passage of electrical currents through solutions indicated that the constitution of matter was electrical. In 1891 in a paper published by the Royal Dublin Society he introduced the term " electron " for the unit quantity of electricity which is associated in the chemical atom with each valency bond. He had in 1881 calculated an approximate value of the electron charge. In spite of Stoney's insight, the theory of the electrical constitution of matter was not accepted until after 1897. In that year J. J. Thomson (1856-1940), who was awarded the Nobel prize for Physics for 1906, in a study of the effect of electrical discharges on gases at low pressures showed that there were present in

atoms of different elements one and the same kind of negatively charged particle, Stoney's electron, with a mass of about 1/1850 that of the hydrogen atom.

Another step towards the solution of the problem of the constitution of the atom was taken at the turn of the century by Mme. Marie Curie (1867-1934), the first woman to attain eminence in science. She was a pioneer in the investigation of the phenomenon of radioactivity which was discovered by Becquerel, with whom she and her husband shared the Nobel Prize for physics in 1903, while she received the Nobel Prize for chemistry in 1911[8]. Chiefly through the work of Rutherford (1871-1937), who was awarded the Nobel Prize for chemistry in 1908, it was shown that radioactive elements when disintegrating emit either positively charged atoms of helium (alpha particles) or electrons. Further when, for example, an atom of radium undergoes a series of successive changes, the intermediate stages are radioactive chemical elements. The final stable element in the uranium-radium series is lead which, though it differs in atomic weight from ordinary lead, is identical with it in chemical properties; in other words atoms with the same chemical properties may differ in weight. In 1911-1913 Soddy, who received the Nobel Prize for chemistry for 1921, and Russell showed that the emission of an electron by a disintegrating atom gave a product one place higher in the Periodic Table. The loss of a helium atom with a positive charge equal and opposite to two electron charges moves the product two places in the opposite direction.

In the same year (1911) Rutherford propounded his theory of the nuclear atom which depicted the atom as composed of a positively charged nucleus surrounded by planetary electrons—as many as there are unit positive charges on the nucleus, the atom being electrically neutral. The electrons are at distances from the nucleus great compared with its diameter and, owing to the relatively minute mass of an electron, this nucleus contains practically all the mass of the atom. The density of matter in the nucleus is of the order of 100 million tons per cubic centimetre. Soddy's results applied to Rutherford's atom indicated that the place of an element in the Periodic Table, that is its chemical behaviour, is related to the nuclear charge and not to the atomic weight. The emitted electrons and charged helium atoms, helium nuclei, that is the helium atom less its two electrons, come from the radioactive nucleus which thus has its charge altered. Atoms with the same nuclear charge but differing in atomic weight are known as isotopes; they are identical in chemical properties. Important work by Moseley (1887-1915), who was killed at Gallipoli, confirmed that the positive charge on the nucleus calculated in electron units was equal to the number of the atom in the Periodic Table. This number, which (as indicated above) equals the number of electrons around the nucleus, is called the atomic number.

The subject was advancing also on another front, for in 1912-1913

Thomson, using a method of sorting charged atoms by means of electrical and magnetic fields, proved the existence of isotopes among non-radioactive elements. This work was extended after the 1914-1918 war by Aston (1877-1945), who received the Nobel prize for chemistry in 1922. Aston showed that the ordinary chemical atomic weights depart from whole numbers because the chemist is dealing with chemically inseparable isotopes, but that the atomic weights of the separate isotopes are close to whole numbers as required by Prout's law. For example, one of the marked exceptions, chlorine with atomic weight 35·5, was found to consist of isotopes with weights 35 and 37. These weights, it should be mentioned, are relative to oxygen 16 which is nearly equivalent to hydrogen one. There is, however, a small residual difference from the " whole-number rule " which is discussed below.

Once it had been established that the order of elements in the Periodic Table depended on their nuclear charges, insight into the structure of the Table was soon obtained. Niels Bohr, who was awarded the Nobel Prize for physics for 1922, showed (1913 onwards) that the application of the quantum theory—explained below—to the Rutherford atom indicates that as we pass along the Periodic Table, adding electrons to atoms to balance increasing nuclear charge, the electrons arrange themselves in shells which may be compared crudely to the skins of an onion. When a shell is full the formation of that next external is begun, so that we get periodic recurrence of number and arrangement of electrons in the external shell. Thus one group of elements will have one external electron, another two, and so on ; in this way we obtain a regular repetition of chemical properties which are related to the number of external electrons. (The quantum theory referred to above is due to Planck (1858-1947 ; Nobel Prize for physics for 1918) who in 1901 postulated the existence of radiation in discrete units, or quanta, of energy related to the frequency of that radiation. It should be stressed that the above picture is over-simplified since Schrödinger, now of the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, who shared the Nobel Prize for physics in 1933, developed (1926 onwards) a new theory of atomic structure (wave mechanics) which alters while it does not change in essence the above picture).

VII

The increasing insight into atomic structure turned men's thoughts once again to the possibility of transmutation. Spontaneous transmutation occurred with radioactive elements ; might it not be possible to force a transmutation with more stable elements ? This was accomplished by Rutherford who in 1919 bombarded nitrogen with fast alpha particles (helium nucli) from a radioactive element (radium C). An isotope of oxygen and a proton were produced. The first transmutation by artificially

accelerated particles in a completely controlled laboratory experiment was achieved in 1932 by Cockcroft and Walton (now at Trinity College, Dublin) who bombarded lithium with protons produced artificially by an electrical discharge and accelerated by high voltages. The most successful device for accelerating positive ions is the cyclotron, for the invention of which Lawrence received a Nobel Prize for physics in 1939.

These positive ions are strongly repelled by the charged nucleus, so that in Rutherford's experiments, for example, only one particle in one hundred thousand enters a nucleus. A more effective missile, the neutron, was discovered in 1932 by Chadwick (for this he received the Nobel Prize for physics in 1935). This particle, which has the same mass as the proton, is neutral as its name indicates and is not repelled by nuclei. It later became clear that the nuclei of atoms are composed of protons and neutrons ; the electron is not present as such, but is emitted as the result of the transition of a neutron to a proton. The reverse transition produces the unstable positive electron called the positron ; for the discovery of which by a study of cosmic ray phenomena Anderson shared a Nobel Prize for physics in 1936.[9] In 1933-1934 Joliot and his wife Irène Joliot-Curie, daughter of Mme. Curie, produced a new radioactive isotope of nitrogen (radio-nitrogen) by bombardment of boron with alpha particles. This artificially produced radioactive element emitted positrons and passed into an isotope of carbon. For this discovery of artificial radioactivity these workers shared the Nobel Prize for chemistry for 1935.

The detection of the neutron gave further insight into the relationship between isotopes. The addition of this particle to a nucleus adds one unit to the atomic weight, but the chemical properties remain unaltered as the nuclear charge is not changed. Of particular interest was the discovery in 1932 by Urey (Nobel prize in chemistry for 1934) of heavy hydrogen, the nucleus of which, called the deuteron, is composed of a proton and a neutron so that its atomic weight is twice that of the abundant isotope. This relatively large difference between the weight of the isotopic atoms renders them readily separable, so that they can be used in studying differences in atomic properties due to isotopy. The deuteron is of value as a missle for the bombardment of nuclei. Isomeric nuclei, too, are known which have the same atomic weight as well as nuclear charge ; yet differences in radioactivity show that there are structural differences in these nuclei. Information is now being obtained which indicates that the component particles in a nucleus are arranged in shells somewhat as electrons are in atoms.[10]

When protons and neutrons combine to form a stable nucleus there is a loss of mass, and energy is evolved. The inter-relationship between mass and energy was an important consequence of Einstein's special theory of relativity, which indicates that matter is, as it were, solidified energy. The relation is such that the energy corresponding to one ounce

of matter would convert about one million tons of water into steam. Einstein received the Nobel prize for physics in 1921. Quantitative proof of the validity of the relationship he had deduced was obtained in the experiments of Cockcroft and Walton referred to above. These energy changes show why the mass of a stable nucleus is not exactly the sum of the masses of the protons and neutrons which compose it and account for the small deviations from the whole number rule which remained after the discovery of isotopes had explained the larger departures from Prout's law.

In 1934 Fermi began a series of experiments on the bombardment of nuclei with neutrons, work for which he received the Nobel prize for physics in 1938. The results he obtained with the heaviest atom, uranium with atomic number 92, were not understood until in 1939 Hahn (Nobel Prize for chemistry for 1944) produced evidence which suggested the hypothesis of Meitner and Frisch that fission of the uranium nucleus had occurred. Among other products Hahn obtained an isotope of barium with atomic number 56. Confirmation of the actual fission of the uranium nucleus and of the great energy which accompanied it owing to the change of matter into energy, was obtained soon afterwards by Joliot, who also showed that a number of free neutrons is produced in the fission. This discovery changed the whole aspect of the problem of utilizing atomic energy. It was known that the energy evolved in nuclear transformations was very large, but much greater quantities had had to be supplied in the form of bombarding particles. The fact that each fission gave additional particles made possible the continuance of the process by initiation of what is called a chain reaction.

VIII

The outbreak of war led to a consideration of the possibility of using the large store of energy released by the fission of uranium. In the United States possibly the greatest known concentration of human effort was used to obtain the solution. The project cost two thousand million dollars and employed 125,000 people. The town built at one of the production sites was the size of Cork. As all now know, these efforts were immemorably crowned when, on 6 August 1945, Hiroshima was obliterated with an atomic bomb 2000 times more powerful than any bomb previously used.

Two main types of process were devised for the production of fissionable material suitable for use in bombs. Natural uranium consists mainly of isotopes with atomic weights 235 and 238, designated U-235 and U-238 respectively. U-235 is suitable material for a bomb, but as the chemical properties of the two isotopes are identical and the differences in physical properties small, separation is exceedingly difficult. Both diffusion and electromagnetic separation processes appear to have been employed.

In the diffusion process a volatile derivative of uranium, probably uranium hexafluoride, was allowed to diffuse through a large number of porous membranes placed in series ; the plant involved required one of the largest power plants ever built. The material containing the lighter isotope diffuses somewhat more rapidly and by frequent repetition—of the order of thousands of times—a product enriched in the lighter isotope can be obtained. The electromagnetic method employs an apparatus of the type used by Aston in his work on isotopes.

If a mass of U-235 is below a certain critical value, neutrons formed in fission will escape before they have been captured by other nuclei to maintain the chain reaction. For an atomic explosion to take place, therefore, it is necessary for two masses of U-235, each below the critical size but together exceeding it, to be brought together rapidly, when if struck by a neutron an atomic explosion will occur. Definite information is lacking as to whether a neutron source is incorporated in the bomb or whether stray neutrons are effective. If all the atoms involved underwent fission, one lb. of U-235 would be equivalent to about 10,000 tons of T.N.T., a factor of the order of twenty million, so that even if only 10 per cent. of the material was exploded, we are concerned with effects out of all proportion to those hitherto achieved.

The other line of approach was based on the fact that U-238 can capture neutrons with rather narrowly defined limits of energy. The unstable isotope so formed decomposes with emission of an electron to form an unstable element neptunium, which in turn emits an electron to form an element, plutonium. Plutonium is fissionable in the same manner as uranium and, having different chemical properties from uranium, can be separated from it and obtained in a pure state.[11] For the production of plutonium there was developed an apparatus called a " pile " or " nuclear reactor". The pile is a structure composed of bricks of natural uranium separated by bricks of a " moderator". The purpose of the moderator is to reduce the velocity of the fast neutrons emitted in the fission of U-235 to a speed suitable for further fission of U-235 or for capture by U-238 to form plutonium. The design is such that one of the neutrons emitted in a fission will give rise to a new fission, so that the chain reaction will be self-sustaining. The working of a pile is controlled by the insertion of rods of material such as cadmium with what is called a large neutron absorption cross-section. Heavy water can replace graphite as a moderator. Cooling must be employed, since there is much energy to be dissipated ; the problems involved in the industrial use of piles is to find a method of utilizing this energy for the production of power. Many difficulties arise, including those caused by the lethal nature of the radiations from the pile. The reactor at Harwell near Didcot has a power-rating of about 6000 kw. ; the U.S. pile for the production of plutonium for atomic bomb purposes has a much larger rating. Both U-235 and plutonium bombs have been

exploded by the Americans ; the Russians are said to have used the latter type.

U-235 and plutonium bombs do not, however, represent the acme of the nuclear scientist's art. It is thought that the heat of the sun is produced by a cycle of nuclear changes involving carbon, hydrogen, nitrogen and oxygen and eventually leading to the transformation of hydrogen into helium and positrons. American scientists state that they and possibly the Russians can now manufacture a hydrogen-helium bomb which would require an earlier type of atomic bomb to set it off. The theoretical ratio ot energy produced per unit of mass employed in the hydrogen and uranium bombs is about eight to one,[12] so that where the present atomic bomb slew thousands the hydrogen bomb might well kill tens of thousands—hydrogen is much more plentiful than uranium and there is no critical size limitation.

We have now completed our journey through the ages along the path which leads from the notion of the atom to the production of the atomic bomb.[13] Most of the trail has been blazed by the chemist and even in recent years when the physicist has played the main part, the chemist has still received his share of relevant Nobel Prizes, an indication of the value of his contribution. The story is one of slow progress for thousands of years, until fifty years ago when the rate was steadily accelerated. The machine would now seem to be out of control. Where it is heading no one can say—least of all the scientist, whose business it is to discover, not to direct. The uranium, plutonium and hydrogen bombs are but one aspect of the terror which confronts civilization. The biologist, it is said, has even worse in store—bacteria and viruses capable of wiping out large sections of the human race. The myth that the pursuit of science would bring peace and prosperity has been exploded ; it seems much more likely that it will bring destruction. Would we be better off, if we had not so ardently pursued science ? Even the scientist himself may hesitate to answer.

T. S. Wheeler

NOTES

[1] The author is indebted to Professor J. R. Partington for the original Latin version of this extract. He wishes also to thank Professor John O'Meara for the translation.

[2] This extract is taken from Professor J. R. Partington's *Short History of Chemistry* (Macmillan), p. 165. This work gives a concise account based on original material and can be recommended to those interested in the subject. It has been much used in the preparation of this article.

[3] *Pictorial History of Chemistry*, Ferchl and Süssenguth (Heinemann), p. 69 ; Partington, *Endeavour*, 1942, *I*, 145.

[4] The author is indebted to Rev. Professor P. J. McLaughlin for the exact text of this cliché which is variously quoted. It may be mentioned that the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*: 14th edition, describes Boyle as an English natural philosopher, Edmund Burke as a British statesman, Goldsmith as an English poet, Rowan Hamilton as a Scottish mathematician and Swift as a British satirist. Honour is served, however, by describing as an Irish criminal William Burke who murdered in Edinburgh in the interests of medical education. His accomplice William Hare is called an Irish labourer.

[5] See *Antoine Lavoisier*, McKie (Gollancz), p. 297.

[6] *Dublin Quarterly Journal of Medical Science*, 1849, *8*, 488. An account of the origins of the atomic theory based on original sources is given by Partington, *Annals of Science*, 1939, *4*, 245.

[7] *Historical Introduction to Chemistry*, Lowry (Macmillan), p. 484.

[8] Mme. Curie is the only person so far to have received two Nobel prizes. Nobel prize-winners are indicated in the text, as the award is an indication of the fundamental value of the work.

[9] For an account of cosmic ray phenomena see Dr. T. E. Nevin's *The Particles in Cosmic Radiation* (University College, Dublin, 1948).

[10] There are other particles, *e.g.*, mesons which are related to energy transformations in the nucleus. See Nevin, *Journal of the Irish Chemical Association*, 1948, 25.

It may be mentioned that the behaviour of charged particles is studied mainly by Wilson's cloud chamber method. This method depends on the fact that a super-saturated vapour will condense on charged, more readily than on neutral, particles. If air saturated with water vapour is cooled by expansion just after the passage of an alpha particle, drops of water condense along the track of the particle ; this track becomes apparent in a bright light. Wilson shared a Nobel Prize for physics in 1927 for his work, and Blackett was awarded a similar prize in 1948 for his development of the method and the discoveries he made with it.

[11] The chemical process for the separation of pure plutonium was worked out with quantities of the order of one microgram, that is one-millionth of a gram. There are 28 grams in an ounce. Working on the so-called " ultramicro scale " with a limit of accuracy of three per cent. of one microgram involved the design and construction of special laboratory equipment.

[12] The actual ratio would depend on the fraction of material undergoing reaction in each bomb. One form of the hydrogen bomb envisages a mass (tons) of heavy water surrounding a uranium bomb. The latter when exploded produces a stellar temperature at which the heavy hydrogen atoms in the heavy water molecules move so rapidly that when they collide they condense to helium.

[13] The author is indebted to Dr. T. E. Nevin, who has kindly checked the portions of this article dealing with nuclear physics, and to Dr. Vincent Barry and Professor E. T. S. Walton who have also given advice.

EMILY BRONTË

BY B. G. MAC CARTHY

Professor of English, University College, Cork

EMILY BRONTË has been called by Clement Shorter "the sphinx of literature"; yet it is not merely because she did not wear her heart on her sleeve that the daws have been pecking at it ever since. Surely it is rather because she gives us for our cogitation all the scope of earth and spirit. She was unknown by those among whom she lived, even by the members of her own family, and despite the passage of time she remains a mystery still. Our meagre knowledge of her external life is based on some bare biographical facts, three tiny scraps of diary and a few formal letters. After her death, there remained to give tidings of Emily only her father, her sister Charlotte, and those few women friends of Charlotte's who visited the Brontë home. Her father was silent. Charlotte's remarks reveal little. They suggest that she had an affection for her sister; that she feared her; that she knew nothing of Emily's inner life. It is curious to note that Charlotte, the sole survivor of the Brontë fellowship, did not consider it necessary to set down for future generations all that she could remember about her sister. This silence has seemed sinister to some purveyors of the sensational, who have filled with their dire imaginings the *terra incognita* of Emily Brontë's life. A simpler explanation of Charlotte's silence—and one supported by her actual comments—is that she did not realise her sister's genius. Like those acquaintances who briefly encountered Emily, Charlotte gives us a few descriptions of Emily's appearance and behaviour, either directly or through the pages of *Shirley*. One must seek, therefore, in Emily Brontë's writings for some clue as to her true life and personality. Even here there are difficulties. Emily's vision externalised itself in symbols which may be variously interpreted. This freedom of interpretation may be seen in the variety of theories put forward by those who have sought to explain the essence of Emily Brontë. Some of these writers have over-stepped the boundaries of legitimate criticism and have presented their theories as actual facts; they have even twisted to unwarrantable purposes the few facts which are available. The truth is that one can offer merely an opinion. One may review the brief annals of her external life; one may attempt to interpret that vision which is expressed in her writings; one may consider the theories based by others on her external and on her inner life. At the end the conclusion reached will be personal, not definitive. Debatable points will still remain.

I

Emily Brontë was the fifth of six children born to the Rev. Patrick Brontë and his wife Maria, née Branwell. Patrick Brontë's father, Hugh, was a Protestant peasant with a small holding in Co. Down. Patrick's mother was a Catholic, one Alice McClory, who ran away from home to marry in the Protestant church. She bore her husband ten children. Here we have at once that mixed strain, that conflicting background out of which sometimes a spark of originality is struck; and here we have also that poverty which occasionally acts as a spur to the ambitious. Patrick Brontë, by grim endurance and endeavour, won his way upwards, and finally went to Cambridge and was ordained. Thereafter his life was that of an obscure clergyman in various country curacies. He was bitten by the desire to write, and produced poems and stories of no value. Strangely enough, however, that instinct to write, though defeated in one generation, sometimes bears fruit in the next. When we think of Patrick Brontë's children, it is almost as if they were a prolongation of one indomitable effort which began in the crowded cottage in Ballinaskeagh, Co. Down. Mr. Brontë used to speak to Mrs. Gaskell of the ancient Brontë family from which he sprang. There were no ancient Brontës, except in the sense that all families derive from Adam. Inspired perhaps by the fact that Nelson had been made the Duke of Brontë in 1799, Patrick Brunty (or Bruntee) adopted this spelling of the name—probably because he considered it more distinguished.

Patrick Brontë's wife, Maria Branwell, was the daughter of a Methodist merchant in Penzance. Some find it pleasing to imagine that the Branwell's had Celtic Cornish blood and that therefore the Brontë children had a heritage doubly Celtic. One can find no proof for such a supposition, and it is safer to assume that the markedly Celtic characteristics which appear in the Haworth children—and particularly in Emily—were derived through their father's side.

When the Brontës came to Haworth in the spring of 1820, Emily was two years old. Anne had been born a few months previously. Mrs. Brontë was to die in the following year. Death at Haworth meant only that one inhabited a different part of the graveyard in which the parsonage stood. One field was unevenly divided between the dead and the living. On the lower side of the field, nearest to the dreary little village, stood the church. On the upper side of the field stood the parsonage, behind which a narrow lane led to the moors. Stretching between the church and the house was the graveyard. The dank, black tombstones extended solidly to the verge of the low wall which served as boundary for the patch of scrubby grass called a garden. But the graveyard extended also along one gable-end of the house. In the garden wall on this side there was a gate known as " the gate of the dead," through which in turn were to be borne the bodies of the parents and of all the children save one. In this

forlorn place was a quality of atmosphere which cheats the sun of its right to shine. The damp walls where the living were marooned could not keep out the tones of the passing bell, the heavy thud of earth on a coffin-lid. Just outside the gate, in a little yard, the stone-mason perpetually hewed out gravestones. His rhythmical taps measured the moments in the parsonage. Death, decay, a strange silence, punctuated by that sinister chipping away of stone, a chipping away of life, of time, while beyond stretched the eternal moors—such was the background of Emily Brontë's life.

But the isolation of the Brontë children was far more than geographic. They grew up in a spartan and loveless household, dependent on each other for affection. Yet, despite the legend created by Mrs. Gaskell, it does not appear that Mr. Brontë was a family tyrant. He was merely a dour, rigid, humourless man, without any understanding of children. His humble and deprived background may be traced quite plainly in the parson of Haworth. He had no knowledge of the softer side of life, of those graces which may beautify the simplest day. His appointment to the Haworth pulpit, over the heads of the Church Council, had aroused local resentment; but, in any case, he had no power of making contacts, still less of making friends. Buried in this remote corner of Yorkshire, he was pompous and egotistical, because in comparison with his early life his achievement gained for him an undue importance. Left alone with six motherless children, he made several efforts to marry again and then brought his sister-in-law to take charge of the little flock. Thereafter, except for his ill-fated efforts to educate Branwell and his choice of Cowan Bridge as a school for his small daughters, he shut himself up in his study and joined the family group only for tea. His notion of making contact with his children may be gleaned from the oracular questions which he addressed to the four who remained to him after Cowan Bridge and consumption had removed from the mortal scene his two eldest daughters, Maria and Elizabeth.

II

Emily Brontë was in her thirtieth year when she died. During her life she left home three times. At the age of six she went with Charlotte to Cowan Bridge, which she left in 1825. Ten years were to elapse before she again went to school, this time to Roe Head. She was then aged seventeen. She remained at Roe Head for three months. In 1837 Emily spent six months—perhaps longer—as a teacher at Miss Patchett School, Law Hill. In February, 1842, when she was twenty-four, she went to school in Brussels, returning six months later. Not reckoning school holidays, she had therefore, in all, eighteen months of formal education. Anne and Charlotte had not very much more, although they had more

prolonged experience of teaching, an occupation which all the family found uniformly distasteful.

Where, then, did the young Brontës obtain their education? They were self-taught. This was true not merely of the girls, but also of Branwell despite the special instruction given him by his father. Once the Brontës had picked up at home the ability to read and write, they were launched on that strange road which was to lead to so much suffering and fame. Schooling and education are not in the least identical. Schooling is essential to the average mind. It is a Procrustean bed to the genius. Lives of great men all remind us that they were mediocre, if not backward, at school. When the Brontë girls, with their absurdly frizzed hair, their shabby dresses of outlandish cut, appeared in a class-room, their grotesque ignorance aroused laughter and their literary ability confirmed their eccentricity. For example, they knew no geography, no grammar. But they were steeped in the geography of secret countries, and they had an inspired mastery of those parts of speech which they were unable to parse. Mary Taylor once said (and Charlotte agreed) that the Brontës were like potatoes growing in a cellar—yes, shut away, germinating in darkness, sending upward to the light shoots which spiralled wildly towards infinity. Much sympathy has been expended on the untutored and friendless state of the Brontës. Indeed, humanly speaking, their lives call forth tears such as angels weep, but that environment which defeats the everyday person may be precisely what is necessary for genius. So it certainly proved in the case of Emily Brontë. Far less was it suitable to Charlotte's temperament; and not at all to the mediocre Anne. Life at Haworth wrecked Branwell. It was Emily's springboard to the stars.

What a strange life it was! Mr. Brontë in his study; Miss Branwell's bedroom her habitual refuge against the bleak discomfort of the parsonage. One remembers her mainly as a perpetual exile from Penzance, clinging to her false curls and her snuff-box—a Betsy Trotwood without originality. Despite the tribute which the plausible Branwell paid her after her death, she played no mother's part. Yet she has her significance on the Haworth scene. Fate ordained that the elders should live withdrawn, so that the children, starved of love, might find a secret life within. That withdrawal was not Miss Branwell's only contribution. For the girls she established an iron discipline which combined religious training with domestic work and all the housewifely crafts. There were no amusements except reading and a walk on the moors. Every hour of the day was filled until their elders retired to bed; then the young Brontës entered into their secret kingdoms. This daily routine was not abandoned by the girls even when, during their early twenties, Miss Branwell died. It was to be to Emily Brontë the indispensable framework which supported and hid her life of the spirit.

The young Brontës read everything on which they could lay their hands: the Bible; the English poets; *Aesop's Fables;* biographies; *Blackwood's Magazine;* some copies of *The Ladies' Magazine* brought by their mother from Penzance; Elizabeth Rowe's *Letters from the Dead to the Living; Sermons and Homilies appointed to be read in Churches in the time of Queen Elizabeth.* They read also a variety of newspapers. Charlotte, Branwell and Anne shared their father's passion for the politics of the day. Did Emily? We are not told. Such reading, such interests, scarcely seem suited to tender years, but in the parsonage there were few concessions to childhood. Perhaps Mr. Brontë told tales of Co. Down. At any rate, there were stories to be heard in the warmest core of life at Haworth: the kitchen. There old Tabby, busy between the table and the oven or seated among the children at the fire, recounted, in Charlotte's phraseology, tales of the "rude vicinage". Tabby was the children's contact with the stuff of human life, with the wild doings of the moorland farmers, decayed gentry; with the bygone customs and the folklore of the district; with fairies, spirits, strange dooms. Enriched by the Yorkshire dialect, such stories lived forever in Emily's memory.

III

Any life is indivisible. In the work of genius germinate seeds of childhood. It was through their games of make-believe (called plays) that the young Brontës developed their creative powers. All that they subsequently wrote—and even as small children they were always scribbling—sprang from two apparently insignificant moments in youth. Mr. Brontë brought Branwell some wooden soldiers from Leeds, and on these, in June, 1826, they based their play "Young Men". One stormy night, in December 1827, old Tabby refused to give a candle to the children sitting around the kitchen fire. They could not read, so each chose an island to possess. From islands with geographic existence, they passed to imaginary islands; and thus was formed the play called "Islanders".

From these plays sprang the Angrian and the Gondal myths. Charlotte and Branwell concentrated on a state called Angria, near the mouth of the Niger. Emily and Anne devised the kingdom of Angora, a mountainous northern country inhabited by people called Gondals. The Gondals conquer Gaaldine, an island in the South Pacific. It is apparent that these two games, one in origin, were later subdivided. Miss Fannie Ratchford states that when Charlotte went away to Roe Head, Emily, refusing to accept Branwell as Charlotte's successor, broke away and began the Gondal game with Anne. It seems that, after 1837, Charlotte and Branwell no longer collaborated in the Angrian myth (for various reasons they were drifting apart). But Emily and Anne were still playing the Gondal game in 1845. For Anne it remained what it had been in the

beginning : a child's game of make-believe. For Emily it had become, in the words of Miss May Sinclair, " the fabric of that marvellous romance, that continuous dream, that stupendous and gorgeous fantasy in which Emily Brontë . . . lived and moved and had her being".

When we first see this " sphinx of literature," she stands masked before her father, giving at five years old a sensible and very ordinary reply to his question. It is the only ordinary answer given that day by any of the children. It would perhaps be straining possibilities to suggest that here we have a foreshadowing of that Emily who brought to daily life at the parsonage just that modicum of commonsense and efficiency that it required, with no seeking after effect or approval. At Cowan Bridge she was " a pretty little thing," not much interested in lessons. At nine she is gleeful and daring, swinging herself out of an upper window to the cherry tree below. She is playing King Charles hiding in the oak. Three Brontë Roundheads gaze anxiously up as a branch breaks (surely it is this incident, seen as part of vanished youth, which later evokes the poem : " There let thy bleeding branch atone "). Emily was fifteen when Ellen Nussey first saw her : " She was the tallest person in the house, except her father. Her hair, which was naturally as beautiful as Charlotte's, was in the same unbecoming frizz, and there was the same want of complexion. She had very beautiful eyes—kind, kindling, liquid eyes ; but she did not often look at you ; she was too reserved. Their colour might be said to be dark grey, at other times dark blue, they varied so. She talked very little. She and Anne were like twins—inseparable companions, and in the very closest sympathy, which never had any interruption."

At twenty-two Emily is still full of the joy of life, but she reveals it only at those infrequent moments when it breaks through those barriers of reserve which she erects against the world. Such liberation in the presence of others comes only on the moors. There she shows " a gleesome delight". Ellen Nussey remembers how " Emily, half reclining on a slab of stone, played like a young child with the tadpoles in the water, making them swim about, and then fell to moralising on the strong and the weak, the brave and the cowardly as she chased them with her hand". Again we see her in this mood when Charlotte sent her out walking to chaperon Ellen Nussey and the gay young curate Weightman. Ellen Nussey recalls her " throwing off her shyness for an instant, running and dancing along the road".

Such youthful joy rarely survives the pressure of the years. By 1845 much that is sad and bitter has happened to the Brontës. They have eaten the bread of servitude in alien houses. Emily and Charlotte have been in Brussels. Charlotte has finally returned desolate. Branwell has degenerated into a family affliction. The plan for opening a school has failed. Yet in 1845 (as in 1841) Emily's birthday diary is calm and

unrevealing. She has, or she determined to show, a stout heart :— " We are all in decent health, only that Papa has a complaint in his eyes and with the exception of B[ranwell] who I hope will be better and do better hereafter. I am quite content for myself : not as idle as formerly, altogether as hearty, and having learned to make the most of the present and long for the future with the [less ?] fidgitiness that I cannot do all I wish; seldom or ever troubled with nothing to do, and merely desiring that everybody could be as comfortable as myself and as undesponding, and then we should have a very comfortable world of it."

IV

But there is another, a daunting aspect of Emily Brontë which seems to grow with the years. Visitors to the parsonage find her strange, inaccessibly remote. She avoids them as much as possible. She avoids the people of Haworth. She appears rather inhuman. Charlotte says that she was " rustic all through, moorish, wild and knotty as a root of heath". There is no doubt that she was, as Charlotte so frequently states, intractable, impervious to influence : " She never came into contact with public opinion and her decision of what was right and fitting was a law for her conduct and appearance with which she allowed no one to interfere." Yet, Charlotte says, she was ever disinterested ; within " lay a power and fire that might have informed the brain and kindled the veins of a hero ".

In *Wuthering Heights* Emily Brontë cries, through the lips of Catherine Earnshaw : " I wish I were a girl again, half-savage and hardy, and free." Yet, in fact, these were the very traits which endured to the end. She lived according to the law of her own nature. With a unique mind an ardent heart, a great capacity for joy and suffering, it was gradually borne in on her that she was caged as that hawk which for a time she kept —true symbol of herself. Hers is a complex isolation. She is like a fortress islanded by concentric rings of impenetrable walls. In a lonely place, in a silent house, enmeshed in the anti-social background of the Brontës, love and understanding could be sought only in her own family. Branwell was at one time Charlotte's friend ; soon he finds his friends at the Black Bull ; and at last Emily is the only sister who pities him and is unafraid. Gentle, loyal, uninspired Anne is Emily's friend. Emily, who warily guarded her inner life, felt safe in an intimacy which was based on childhood. It was a true love that they shared, but they shared it at the level of Anne's capacity for understanding ; and it did not mitigate Emily's isolation.

No intimacy could be expected between Charlotte and Emily. Charlotte had great powers of imagination, of feeling ; and though she lacked Emily's genius, one might have expected them to draw together.

But these two sisters were fundamentally poles apart. Emily, constricted to a pinpoint of existence, took wings and soared. Her real interests were no longer tethered to the human scene, although she shouldered her share of the daily burden and showed complete practical ability—not merely in the management of household but of financial affairs. As she grew older, she withdrew more and more into herself. She claimed for herself a freedom which she also gave to others. But Charlotte was not free and to others she would give no freedom. Not merely her novels, but her letters, prove her censoriousness, her intolerance and her discontent. She was full of conscious rectitude and, even after the Brussels period, could find no pity in her heart for the weaknesses of others. This thwarted preoccupation with the affairs of life was certainly quite alien to Emily; or perhaps one should say that Emily was quite alien to Charlotte's natural longing for friends, fame, security, love. What could there be in common between "the harshness of Emily's powerful and peculiar character" and Charlotte's perfervid emotionalism and sentimentality? Emily asked only to be allowed lead her own life.

Charlotte felt it necessary to manage the affairs of others. No doubt the affairs of the Brontë family needed to be managed by someone, and we cannot deny that literature is indebted to Charlotte's driving force. To it we owe the publication of Emily's works, which probably would never otherwise have found their way into print. Yet even in the publication of Emily's poems we find the value of Charlotte's energy nullified by her lack of judgment. Nobody knows how Charlotte came to read Emily's poems. Emily deeply resented this intrusiveness. Charlotte determined to have them published; so she sandwiched them between her own poor verses and those of Anne. Of this volume, published in 1846, two copies sold. When, in 1850, Charlotte published a further selection of poems by Emily and Anne (both then dead), she actually took it upon herself to improve Emily's poems, changing and interpolating lines to suit her own taste. Into the most mystical poem in the language she thrust two verses of her own and then prefixed a neat title: "The Signal Light". Her apologies for *Wuthering Heights* show her at one moment trying to gloss over an ebullition which appals her; at another offering the patronising hope that her sister may do better in future: "Ellis will improve, however, because he knows his defects." Charlotte once said that Emily would always have needed an interpreter to stand between her and the world. It is clear that Charlotte was unfitted for such a task.

As another example of Charlotte's blind determination, one may consider the fatal expedition to Brussels. Charlotte was already aware that Emily could not live away from home. She did not know, of course, that for Emily removal from Haworth involved far more than homesickness and the adoption of a detested way of life; but she knew that

Emily exiled became wretchedly ill and unhappy. Speaking of Emily's brief period as a pupil at Roe Head, Charlotte says : " I felt in my heart that she would die, if she did not go home, and with this conviction obtained her recall." Thereafter Emily tried again, this time as a teacher at Law Hill School. Charlotte records : " I have had one letter from her since her departure—it gives an appalling account of her duties. Hard labour from six in the morning until near eleven at night, with only one half-hour of exercise between. I fear she will never stand it." She certainly stood it for six months. Whatever the period which Emily spent at Law Hill, she went to Brussels with Charlotte in February 1842. Why did Charlotte decide to take to Brussels Emily, and not Anne? Anne was at that time an unhappy governess at Thorpe Green—so unhappy, indeed, that Charlotte's heart ached for her. Emily was at Haworth, living her chosen life. In Charlotte's letter to Ellen Nussey we find the answer : " I fixed on Emily. She deserved the reward I knew." How strange to watch Charlotte managing that sister of whose genius she was unaware ! How strange to watch Emily silently complying with Charlotte's schemes ! One may well believe, however, that Charlotte regretted that she had brought with her that " restless merlin," that " sister of the spotted, bright, quick, fiery leopard". Emily in Brussels could neither be led nor driven. She spoke to no one, was savagely unhappy. She toiled at her studies and grimly awaited the moment of release.

V

Soon for Emily the bad dream of Brussels is over. It has lasted for six months. Home once more, she will remain forever at Haworth even when she has passed out through " the gate of the dead". She takes up again her domestic duties ; she immerses herself again in her transcendent dream. In this inner world she has lived since childhood. It is the explanation of all that Emily Brontë was and of all that she seemed to be. It is an inner life which combines three main elements : the Gondal game, the love of nature, the mystical experience.

In early youth, as we have seen, she becomes absorbed in the Gondal game. Into it she pours her growing powers ; her superb imagination, her enormous energy, her thirsting soul. With the people of this huge and complicated myth she fills her life, until this world of unsubstantial beings becomes for her more real than the material world in which she seems to live. The years pass ; the myth grows. By strange fission her protean mind peoples a wild sub-lunar country with a host of passionate beings who work out endlessly an inescapable doom. They live in her and she in them. Yet, with the peculiar power of the creator, she is outside them also. Gondaland is Yorkshire transmuted into something rich and strange. The moors, the ruined church outside the parsonage,

the gravestones rising up like jagged teeth, the old clock on the stairs which Mr. Brontë winds up every night—we find them again in that secret country. Gondal is a world of violence and passion. There are feuds, wars, bitter revenges, wild loves and wilder partings; imprisonments; a web of life inextricably tangled; anguish of spirit which survives death and which links time and eternity. Will grinds on will. Love and hatred are aspects of the same fundamental experience. The Gondals feed on the source from which they draw their life—not merely on Emily Brontë's mind and soul, but on all that she has read, on all that she has heard of the lives of men. She brings to their creation not so much experience gained by human contacts, as experience which she has gained in the depth of her own being. Thus they are Titans who live with an intense reality and a truth which is independent of average probability.

It is obvious that, at this level, the Gondal game could not be shared with Anne, although they continue to play it. The birthday diary of Anne, written for the year 1845, is significant: "Emily is engaged in writing the Emperor Julius's Life. We have not yet finished our Gondal chronicles that we began three and a half years ago . . . The Gondals in general are not in first rate playing condition. Will they improve?"

How account for Anne's dwindling interest as against Emily's enthusiasm? Surely the clue lies in Anne's remark: "She [Emily] is writing some poetry too. I wonder what it is about?" These words indicate that the Gondal collaboration was superficial, and they prove that Anne knew nothing of Emily's inner life. Evidently she knew only that Emily wrote Gondal poems which she herself had not seen. It is generally accepted that Emily's first Gondal poem was written in 1837. At the date of Anne's comment, therefore, Emily had in fact been writing Gondal poems for eight years. She continued to do so until 1846. Indeed, if we are to count a revision of a previous poem, she was still active in Gondaland seven months before her death.

Little can be said with certainty as to the details of the Gondal myth. Since the prose epic of Gondaland did not survive Emily's death, her poems must serve as the basis for any attempted reconstruction. Efforts at reconstruction have been made by various writers (notably by Miss Laura L. Hinkley), but as there is a wide and even radical difference in the results obtained, it seems that one must accept the findings as inconclusive. It is natural that this should be so, because serious difficulties are implicit in the poems themselves. First there is the possibility of mistaken ascription. All the Brontë children used much the same tiny script, and this led to errors in the determination of authorship. (Thus, because she accepted Clement Shorter's ascription to Emily of certain poems by Charlotte, Miss May Sinclair imported into the Gondal myth the story of Percy and Mary.) Again, added to the similarity in writing was the fact that names are repeated in both the Angrian and the Gondal

sa as, although they denote altogether different characters. For example, in both sagas there is a Julius, an Augustus, a Fernando, an Ierne, an ...exander. This duplication of names is natural enough, since the Angrian and the Gondal myths appear to have stemmed from one original root, and also because, at the earlier stages, the four young people knew each other's work. In the interpretation of the Gondal myth a further complication arises : how is one to distinguish Emily's Gondal from Emily's personal poems ? At first glance, one might say : by accepting as Gondal those poems which treat of Gondal events or to which Emily prefixed initials accepted as those of Gondal characters. But sometimes these criteria do not suffice ; when, for example, one is confronted by a poem which lacks a Gondal superscription, or a specific reference to a Gondal event, and which nevertheless seems to suggest some situation or character which could be recognised as Gondal. It is obvious that such poems offer no firm ground for classification. They may, or they may not, be a part of Gondaland. The necessity of arriving at a decision is of importance only to those who particularly wish to reconstruct the Gondal myth, or to those who particularly wish to trace in Emily's poems the events of her life. In fact, one cannot, in Emily Brontë's poetry establish a boundary between " Gondal " and " personal". The myth fills Emily's mind and becomes more real to her than the events of the passing day. Emily's mind flows into the myth using the imagery of Gondaland to mirror forth her external and her inner life. Emily has, in fact, found the perfect objective correlative—a world of people endlessly diversified, animated by all the ideas and emotions which can ever have entered the human mind. Their lives offer a variety of situations which may reveal symbolically the situations of Emily's personal life. The Gondals, encircling a whole world of inner experience, are an ideal medium for this " space-sweeping soul". All that was in Emily is in her poems—the essence of *Wuthering Heights,* the essence of her being, the essence of the life which she outwardly lived—all unified by the mysterious alchemy of the poet into something indivisible, beyond analysis and classification. Writers who incorporate in Gondaland the borderline poems do the myth no perceptible harm, since in any case it seems impossible to achieve a full and definitive reconstruction of the myth. What of those writers who regard all the poems—*i.e.* Gondal, personal and borderline—as clues to Emily Brontë's personal life ? By their arbitrary interpretations, they have arrived at strange and contradictory theories—theories which, alas ! include sex perversion and satanism. How far can one identify the creative writer with his characters ? They are his creatures, living only by his life, but he has a life which is not theirs. All their lives added together, all their qualities extracted and added together, can indicate only a few facets of that being who gave them birth. They are the vapour drawn up by the heat of inspiration from an unfathomable ocean.

There have been many theories as to the source of *Wuthering Heights*. There is the story of Jack Sharp ; the story of Welsh Brontë (generally regarded as apocryphal) ; tales by Hoffman ; tales heard at Haworth and elsewhere. Add to these the conception of a hero such as may be found in Byron's poetry and in novels like those of Mrs. Radcliffe. Any or all of the sources mentioned (and others not mentioned) may have contributed. It is necessary only to believe that such elements, mingled and maturing for long years, were distilled first through Emily Brontë's poetry. It is through Gondaland that these sources flow into *Wuthering Heights*. No wonder then that the critics, vainly trying to envisage the experience of the author, were shocked at the strangeness and violence of the book, nervously withdrew from its savagery and its sublimity. Emily, since childhood a native of the Gondal country, was amazed at such objections which she regarded as mere affectation. What the critics could not know was that *Wuthering Heights*, so far from being a titanic enlargement of human life, was in fact the quintessence of an heroic myth localised in Yorkshire.

Since the poems are to the Gondal myth like the mountain tops of a submerged world, it would be foolhardy to assert definitely that certain Gondal characters are the prototypes of Catherine Earnshaw, Heathcliff, Edgar Linton in *Wuthering Heights*. In any case, there are reasons why this is impossible. For example, Augusta Geraldine Almeda, the chief heroine of the cycle, speaks sometimes with the very utterance of Catherine Earnshaw. But there is, in addition, Rosina, the wife of Julius Brenzaida, who also points to Catherine. One might say that Julius Brenzaida, Prince of Angora, is Heathcliff ; but he is only one aspect of Heathcliff. There is also A.A.A. (Arthur, the eldest son of Julius and Rosina ?). He is very like the young Heathcliff. He is the " melancholy boy ", that " sunless human rose".

> " Too heavenly now, but doomed to be
> Hell-like in heart and misery."

Is it he who becomes the " iron man," the man with the basilisk eyes ? Who is the stranger who shelters in the shepherd's hut—a scene which contains many elements of *Wuthering Heights*—given us in the poem " And now the house-dog stretched once more " ? Gondal experts do not identify him with Julius Brenzaida or with A.A.A. Does it matter ? What matters is that under many guises the main characters and the essence of *Wuthering Heights* are ripened in the poems before they reach the pages of the novel.[1] Indeed in her use of Gondal names how much did Emily wish to reveal ? Was it by accident that she gave to many of

[1] Some characteristic aspects of the relationship between Heathcliff and Catherine are realised in Gondal poems ascribed to a variety of speakers—*i.e.* " Cold in the earth," " Light up thy halls," " If grief for grief can touch thee."

her Gondal characters names of which the initials are identical—a fact which has proved fatal to a reconstruction of the saga?

But if, in considering Emily Bronte's genius, we can point but a wavering finger at the Gondal element, what are we to say of the most secret and mysterious core of her life? Why did she cling to Haworth? Not merely because of the moors which fed her love of nature. That was a reason certainly, but not the main reason. She clung to Haworth because in the obscure, monotonous, silent passage of the days, she, the natural contemplative, found what her soul needed. For her it was uniquely right—for her and for no one else; not for the histrionic Branwell or the mild and harassed Anne or the gifted, ambitious, frustrated Charlotte. When Charlotte alone survived, shut up in that house, solitary save for the tiresome egoist across the hallway, it brought her to the limit of even her unflinching endurance. It was more than flesh and soul could bear. For Emily it was soul's bliss—the chosen way to vision. Her days had the rhythm of manual work so long performed as to become not merely a routine but a ritual which supported, without interrupting, the life within. She is silent because she is absorbed. When she is forced to leave Haworth, it involves spiritual dislocation. Precipitated into the midst of people, obliged to undertake a kind of work which demands mental concentration, forced to adapt herself to new and constantly changing situations, her peace is shattered. And again she remains silent; but this silence does not hide a secret joy. It is her defence against people and the mark of her suffering.

VI

Miss May Sinclair says of Emily Brontë: "She was a mystic, not by religious vocation, but by temperament and by ultimate vision". The term mysticism used in so loose a sense requires a word of clarification. It is obvious that the transcendental experience of the poet has certain elements which resemble mysticism. Bremond indeed asserts that the poet is a mystique manqué. Maritain objects: "D'abord, il convient de protester au nom de la poésie: elle n'est pas quelque chose de manquée; dire qu'elle est de la mystique manquée, c'est lui faire trop et pas assez d'honneur." Maritain denies that the poetic experience may be considered as a kind of mysticism and points out the essential differences which underlie the apparent points of convergence:

> "Les poètes et les autres artistes, les grands inventeurs et les saints, puisent tous à la même source divine, mais avec des dispositions différentes, et selon des types essentiellement distincts de relation à cette source. Ils sont les uns et les autres des imitateurs de Dieu, mais les uns sont appelés tout particulièrement à augmenter le trésor humain de la beauté et de la science, ils sont les imitateurs du Dieu créateur; les autres sont particulièrement appelés à entrer dans le mystère de la Déité elle-même et à faire connaître en ce monde, par quelque image et par quelque ressemblance, la Sainteté de Dieu . . ."

Accepting this distinction, one yet remains at a loss for a name which will designate a particular quality in Emily Brontë's poetry. Let us call her a poet-mystic of the natural order.

There is a state of poetry in the soul, as with a saint there is a state of grace; and the essential condition for development in either case is a withdrawal from human preoccupations, a passive sense of quietude. This is a natural disposition which must be cultivated, and we have seen how Emily Brontë cultivated it. It seems that it was nature which at first aroused in her the poetic experience:

> " High waving heather, 'neath stormy blasts bending,
> Midnight and moonlight and bright shining stars;
> Darkness and glory rejoicingly blending,
> Earth rising to heaven and heaven descending . . . "

But she herself tells us that she passes beyond nature, which repeatedly calls her to return (*e.g.* " Shall earth no more inspire thee? "). There is a wind which she alone hears, " Gondal's wind," which is the prelude to a poetic intuition of the rarest kind. Sometimes it blows in the storms which sweep over Haworth; sometimes (as in " In summer's mellow midnight ") it is a soft wind touching her hair. Night is the most perfect time for this visitant:

> " I'm happiest when most away
> I can bear my soul from its home of clay
> On a windy night when the moon is bright
> And the eye can wander through worlds of light—
>
> When I am not and none beside—
> Nor earth nor sea nor cloudless sky—
> But only spirit wandering wide
> Through infinite immensity."

" When I am not " !—superb revelation, casually interpolated. This theme is expanded in " Aye, there it is, it wakes to-night ":

> " Yes, I could swear that glorious wind
> Has swept the world aside,
> Has dashed its memory from thy mind
> Like foam-bells from the tide—
>
> And thou art now a spirit pouring
> Thy presence into all—
> The essence of the Tempest's roaring
> And of the Tempest's fall—
>
> A universal influence
> From Thine own influence free;
> A principle of life, intense
> Lost to mortality."

As she lies in her bare little room, she embraces all creation, all time :

" The world is going—Dark world, adieu !
Grim world, go hide thee till the day ;
The heart thou canst not all subdue
Must still resist if thou delay . . .

And this shall be my dream tonight—
I'll think the heaven of glorious spheres
Is rolling on its course of light
In endless bliss through endless years."

One might pass without a break in thought to " Stars " (" Ah ! why because the dazzling sun ") :

" Thought followed though —star followed star
Through boundless regions on,
While one sweet influence, near and far,
Thrilled through and proved us one . . ."

This unifying principle liberates her as a poet, but though the poetic experience enables her often to slough off the tangle of human existence, when it is intermitted it leaves her exposed not merely to the sufferings of deprivation but to the assault of earthly woes on a highly sensitive spirit. Shelley's words here cast light : " In the intervals of inspiration, and they may be frequent without being durable, a poet becomes a man, and abandoned to the sudden reflex of the influences under which others habitually live." This dual existence Emily reveals in the poem " Well hast thou spoken " :

" Deep down—concealed within my soul,
That light lies hid from men,
Yet glows unquenched—though shadows roll,
About the sullen den.

Was I not vext, in these gloomy ways
To walk unlit so long ?
Around me wretches uttering praise,
Or howling o'er their hopeless days,
And each with Frenzy's tongue—

A Brotherhood of misery,
With smiles as sad as sighs ;
And turning into agony
The Bliss before my eyes.

So stood I in heaven's glorious sun
And in the glare of Hell
My spirit drank a mingled tone
Of seraph's song and demon's moan—
What my soul bore my soul alone
Within itself may tell."

There are moments when she staggers under this immortality pent up within her. She is rent by the struggle:

" Three gods within this little frame
Are warring night and day

Heaven could not hold them all and yet
They all are held in me."

Perhaps one may gather from this poem (" Enough of thought ") that these three gods are power, will and vision. Whence came this vision? What is its nature? She tells us that she does not know. She only knows that it is her " intimate delight," " divinest anguish "—anguish because it is so transient, because she seeks it forever, because there are moments when she fears that it will never return; because, even when it comes, there is the unutterable moment when her rapt soul falls back to earth.

" Then dawns the invisible, the Unseen its truth reveals;
My outward sense is gone, my inward essence feels—
Its wings are almost free, its home, its harbour found:
Measuring the gulf it stoops and dares the final bound

Oh, dreadful is the check—intense the agony
When the ear begins to hear and the eye begins to see;
When the pulse begins to throb, the brain to think again,
The soul to feel the flesh, and the flesh to feel the chain!"

So she said too in *Wuthering Heights:* " And the thing that irks me most is this shattered prison after all. I'm tired of being enclosed here. I'm wearying to escape into that glorious world and to be always there, not seeing it dimly through tears and yearning for it through the walls of an aching heart, but really with it and in it . . . I shall be incomparably beyond and above you all."

Ere that could come to pass, there had to be that final withdrawal, that rejection of all things human. Before that grim, fierce death we fall silent. The Dryad hair is laid in dust; the years drift over; her works remain—surely unsurpassed in English literature.

B. G. MacCarthy

BISHOP JOSEPH BROWN, O.S.B.

THE MODERN APOSTLE OF WALES

BY DOM BASIL HEMPHILL, O.S.B.

WHEN the re-division of England and Wales into eight Vicariates was made by the Holy See in 1840 the whole of Wales, with the addition of Herefordshire and Monmouthshire, was made into what was called the Welsh District. Hitherto Wales had been but a part of the Western District, which was one of the four " Districts " into which the country was divided, the others being the London, Midland, and Northern Districts. And the setting up of this new Welsh District involved the appointment of a Vicar Apostolic to rule it. The man selected for this extremely difficult task was Dom Joseph Brown, O.S.B., who was at that time Prior (*i.e.* Superior) of St. Gregory s Priory[1], near Bath ; and he was duly consecrated Bishop of Apollonia in St. John's Church, Bath, on 28 October, 1840 by Bishop Griffiths of the London District, assisted by Bishop Wareing of the Eastern District and Bishop Collier, O.S.B. of Mauritius.

I

The task that confronted the new bishop was one to daunt the bravest spirit, for Catholicism was at the lowest possible ebb in Wales and the prospects for it seemed hopeless. Well might Bishop Wiseman, preaching at the consecration, declare to Dr. Brown : " For labour and exertion there will be abundant room, God knows, in the field allotted to your care. It will be well to try to give some idea of the actual conditions existing in 1840 before turning to consider the character and career of the man who was henceforth to be responsible for the District.

The Western District (Dorset, Wilts, Devon, Cornwall, Somerset, Gloucester, Hereford, Monmouth, and all Wales) had all along been the most backward of the four Districts as regards Catholicism, and Wales in particular had received very little attention. And this was the more sad, because Wales had been intensely Catholic at one time and had remained so until the middle of the seventeenth century. But after the Civil War the Puritans sent preachers all over Wales, and at the same time the supply of priests greatly diminished, while nearly all the Welsh-speaking priests were driven out after the Titus Oates Plot[2]. As a result of all this, but especially because of the lack of priests, the numbers of Catholics so shrank that in 1773 Bishop Walmesley, the Benedictine bishop of the Western District, reported to Rome that there were then only 750 Catholics and nine priests in all Wales.

[1] Now Downside Abbey.

[2] Donald Attwater : *The Catholic Church in Modern Wales.*

Added to the above causes, of course, was the effect of the penal laws and the persecution they brought about: crushing fines, confiscation of property, imprisonment. With the passing of the two Relief Acts (1778 and 1791) matters became slightly better, but in 1800 there were still only seven public chapels in Wales—and in fact only two permanent missions (Brecknock and Holywell), as Bishop Collingridge reported in 1813[1], while in 1802 there were only two Catholics in Cardiff. The coming of the Industrial Revolution meant a great increase of population in South Wales, but at first it had little effect on Catholics and no effect on the resources available to the bishop. When Bishop Brown took over the reins, he found there were seventeen chapels (so-called) and some five thousand Catholics in the whole Vicariate (Wales, with Hereford and Monmouth). In Cardiff a small room served as "chapel", and in Merthyr a congregation of some 700 heard Mass in a dark loft with holes in the roof. As for schools or seminaries, there were no funds whatever for producing them, nor did there seem to be any prospect of increasing the number of priests. And, the final comic-tragic touch, in the whole Vicariate there was but one cope[2].

Such was the inheritance which fell to Bishop Brown. Fortunately he had a stout heart and an unconquerable faith, and he realised the need for these when he came to experience the bitter hatred felt for the Church all over Wales. This bigotry and malice was increased enormously a few years later when the Irish famine of 1847 brought about a great influx of starving Irish Catholics into Wales. Here was all the material needed for violent passions to be aroused: national antipathies, economic pressure, and religious hatred all combined to produce fierce riots and much bloodshed; while at the same time this inflow of destitute Catholics, which greatly swelled the size of the bishop's flock without at first increasing its resources, added greatly to the burdens and difficulties which Dr. Brown and his devoted clergy had to bear. But the upshot was that in less than twenty years the number of priests doubled and more than fifty schools were built.

II

With that glimpse of the stony vineyard to which the new Vicar Apostolic had been called, let us turn to the man himself and see somethnig of his life. Thomas Joseph Brown was born at Bath on 2 May, 1798, and when nine years old he entered the Benedictine school then at Acton Burnell. This was the home of the Smythe family (to which Mrs. Fitzherbert, wife of George IV, had belonged), and in this house two religious communities found shelter after being driven out of France by the French Revolution. These were the Benedictines whose communities

[1] Maziere Brady: *The Episcopal Succession in England, etc.*
[2] Cf. Dom Anselm Wilson's *Life of Bishop Hedley.*

are now at Ampleforth and Downside respectively. While still only 14 young Brown joined the Community of St. Gregory's as a novice in 1813 and a year later (" the year before Waterloo," as he used to delight to say in later life) took his vows just after the community had moved to Downside, being the first to take his vows in that monastery. In due course he was ordained priest, the ceremony taking place in London on 7 April, 1823; and then there followed many years of quiet monastic routine, during which he was professor of theology and for part of the time also taught philosophy and divinity.

But in 1829 this peaceful life was suddenly interrupted in a most surprising and sensational manner, for there was then entrusted to him a highly responsible and delicate task which necessitated that he should go to Rome. There he was to defend Downside against the powerful and determined attack which had been made on it by Bishop Baines, the Vicar Apostolic of the Western District; and it was a great mark of the confidence which his brethren felt in him that at such a youthful age he should be given this formidable commission. The story is a very strange one, but it is well known, and space will not allow more than the bare essentials to be given here[1].

The bishop, who was far-seeing and had ambitious schemes for the advancement of religion in his District, had decided that he must have a seminary of his own; and it seemed to him that Downside, with its buildings and flourishing school, would be ideal for the purpose. He therefore, in 1823, proposed to the monks that he and his successors should become the superiors of the monastery and that the monks should be under his orders and be sent to work as missioners in the District, while a seminary for secular priests was to be added to the school. This drastic proposal, which would have entailed their severance from the English Benedictine Congregation, was promptly rejected by the monks, much to the annoyance of Dr. Baines, who thereupon turned his eyes on the sister monastery of Ampleforth in Yorkshire. There he was somewhat more fortunate, for after an initial period of distrust some of the community (including three senior members) were won over to his grandiose plan. But if the Ampleforth community were to undertake the task, a first necessity was that they should exchange properties with Downside, so that the resulting seminary might be in the Western District; and here again Dr. Baines met with obstruction, for Downside flatly refused such an exchange. At this point the bishop ostensibly dropped the matter for a few years, but he had by no means given up his plan—writing to a friend he declared: "They (Downside) are not aware how strenuous and efficient my opposition to them will be, if they drive me to it. If it must come to a trial of strength, one or the other party shall go down."

[1] The full story will be found in such works as Norbert Birt's *History of Downside School*; Cuthbert Almond's *History of Ampleforth Abbey*; Bernard Ward's *The Sequel to Catholic Emancipation.*

Three years later (1827) Bishop Baines was in Rome and there he won over to his views Cardinal Capellari, the Prefect of Propaganda[1], who promised that when Dr. Baines succeeded to the Vicariate (he was then only Coadjutor to Bishop Collingridge) Downside would be handed over to him by decree from Rome. Two years later Dr. Collingridge died, and thereupon Bishop Baines issued a claim in Rome that the Benedictine houses in England had never been canonically erected (because they had not had formal permission for their establishment either from Rome or from the local Bishops) and that therefore the monks were not exempt from episcopal control and their vows were invalid. In a word they were not regulars at all but missionary priests. But fortunately the bishop's manoeuvres in Rome were accidentally discovered in the course of a casual conversation with Dr. Wiseman by a Downside monk who was studying in Rome at that time, and he informed the community, who now saw it was to be a fight for their very existence. In this emergency it was to Dom Joseph Brown that they turned, and they deputed him to study the case. When he had done this and had given his advice on the matter, the monks drew up a written statement of their case which they sent to Rome, and at the same time Fr. Brown and another monk were sent thither to conduct the case.

Meanwhile at home Dr. Baines demanded to know on what grounds the monks claimed exemption from episcopal control, and when the Prior declined to answer on the grounds that the matter was now *sub judice* in Rome, the bishop took the surprising step of summarily withdrawing all faculties from the whole community. For this he subsequently got into trouble at Rome and was ordered to restore the faculties; and in fact by taking this extreme measure he had alienated the sympathies of his fellow-bishops. It was now that, realising he could never hope to get the Downside property, he carried through the purchase of Prior Park, a magnificent mansion just outside Bath, where he determined to set up his seminary and school in rivalry to Downside. He therefore spent several months at Ampleforth wooing the monks there, and the upshot was that several of the monks and most of the boys were transferred to Prior Park. The bishop (who was himself an Ampleforth monk) was convinced that Ampleforth as a monastery was ruined and would never recover, as he openly declared; but in this he was mistaken, for in a remarkably short time it had wonderfully revived and, aided by Downside, it was eventually stronger than ever before.

It was in November 1829 that Fr. Brown and his companion reached Rome, and there they had the most frigid reception from Cardinal Capellari. His formidable greeting to them was "*Vester adventus est indictio belli*"[2], and the hearts of the two newcomers sank. They were lodged in the monas-

[1] Later Pope Gregory XVI, and himself a Benedictine.

[2] *The Downside Review*, 1890, p. 184.

tery of S. Gregorio and at once experienced the full rigours of a Roman winter, so that every night Fr. Brown was benumbed with cold. At last he decided in despair to fall back on an old accomplishment of his, the art of skipping, in order to get warm. Cutting himself a length of rope he skipped vigorously up and down the corridor of the remote wing in which he was lodged. But after he had done this several nights in succession he began to notice that, whereas on his arrival he had been greeted by the monks with the greatest cordiality, they now grew distant and reserved and did their utmost to avoid him. At last he felt he must get to the bottom of this matter and boldly tackled the Abbot on the subject, asking the reason for the change. At first the Abbot would say nothing, but in the end it came out that ever since the arrival of the two Englishmen the monks had been disturbed by strange noises at night which were becoming worse, and there was no doubt that some terrible supernatural or preternatural agency was at work. In short Fr. Brown was plainly having dealings with the devil! At this he burst out laughing, and after explaining the real cause he invited the monks to witness a demonstration of his skill with the skipping rope.

Telling the story in later life, Bishop Brown remarked: "My offer was at once accepted; and if you could have witnessed the astonishment and delight of the good monks at seeing how I crossed arms and cut doubles, you would be able to realise a scene that is not likely to occur again." Very quickly the story spread in Rome, and only three days later Fr. Brown was given the surprising news that Cardinal Capellari himself was coming to see him skip. "Well, he came," says Fr. Brown, "and I never shall forget his emotion. At first I began with single strokes, and then cross strokes forwards and backwards. All these feats were duly applauded; but the *furore* was reserved for the doubles, when the old Cardinal clapped his hands and fairly shouted with delight. After this there was no longer any coolness at the Propaganda. My business was expedited, and everything was settled to my satisfaction."

Hence it was that Bishop Brown used to say that he had saved the English Benedictine Congregation with a skipping-rope. And in fact from that day the Roman Cardinal and the English monk were fast friends for the rest of their lives, a friendship which stood Fr. Brown in good stead when the Cardinal became Gregory XVI. And indeed after he had studied the Benedictine defence drawn up by Fr. Brown[1] the Cardinal declared: "*Congregatio vestra nunquam peribit,*" words which now adorn the Bishop's tomb at Belmont and are at the foot of his portrait in the refectory.

On the successful conclusion of this important business Dom Joseph Brown returned to Downside, and in the years which immediately followed

[1] Fr. Brown had laboriously completed this *relatio* when he was told that his handwriting was too small and might cause the document to be neglected. Thereupon he had to copy out the whole lengthy document in a large hand, which he found a formidable and wearisome task.

he became very well known in England as a controversialist both on the platform and in the press. In particular the famous " Downside Discussion" with leading Protestants attracted much attention. For five consecutive days in 1830 he, together with four other Catholics, argued with three members of the Protestant Reformation Society in the riding school at Cheltenham before four thousand people[1] : and this was but one of such activities on his part. Four years later the same Protestant Society tried again, this time at a public meeting at which no priests were present. The target for their attack was the doctrine of Purgatory, and at the end the speaker challenged any priest to reply. A friend of Brown's who was there at once said that the latter would discuss any points of controversy, and the resulting disputations took place, on six days in February and March 1834, in the chapel at Downside.

That same summer Fr. Brown had conferred on him the Doctor's cap, and soon afterwards he was chosen to be Prior (Superior) of the monastery. He had already in the previous year been honoured by having conferred on him the titular Cathedral Priorship of Winchester, one of the twelve pre-reformation Priorships of cathedral monasteries belonging to the Benedictines—the titles to which have, by Papal injunction, continued to be bestowed to the present day. There now followed for him a period of six years administrative work as Prior of Downside, years in which he gained experience which was to be of value to him later on, and then in 1840 came the sudden call to the episcopate.

III

It has already been explained that in that year the number of Vicariates in England was increased from four to eight and that one of the new " Districts " was that of Wales, to which was united Hereford and Monmouth. It was, as he said, " with profound reluctance " that the new bishop accepted the charge of this unpromising sphere of labour, in which he was destined to spend no less than forty years. Those were years of unremitting up-hill work, of hopes constantly dashed, of ambitions that were never realised ; but they were none the less years of slow but very real and steady progress. And after ten of those years had gone by, there came another great change ; for in 1850 the Hierarchy was at long last restored and the epoch of the Vicars Apostolic had, after more than one hundred and sixty years, come to an end. It was the beginning of a new age and was a concrete sign of the progress made by the Church in England. As a result of the setting up of this new organisation Bishop Brown became Bishop of Newport and Menevia, but at the same time he had to suffer the loss of half his former diocese ; for the northern counties of Wales were taken away from him and joined to the diocese of Shrewsbury (an

[1] Cf. article on Brown in *Dictionary of National Biography*.

arrangement that lasted until 1895), so that he was left with only the six southern counties and Herefordshire and Monmouthshire. He felt this loss very keenly, but he realised that the change was well-nigh inevitable under the circumstances. As it happened, for the first year he was unaffected by this alteration because he was appointed to be Administrator of the Shrewsbury diocese for 1850-1851, till the first Bishop of Shrewsbury (another Bishop Brown) was appointed.

With the setting up of the Hierarchy Dr. Brown's thoughts at once turned to a project which was very dear to him : that of reviving the old pre-reformation system by which Benedictine Bishops had their Chapters composed of monks ; and so he set about procuring a monastic Chapter for Newport. In this he had the support of Cardinal Wiseman and the other bishops, and indeed as early as 1839 Rome itself had had this same idea. The first definite move was a letter from the bishop to the Chapter of the English Benedictines inviting them (Nov. 1851) to form the Chapter of his new diocese. Despite many misgivings and a good deal of opposition on the part of the monks, this invitation was in the end accepted, and the proposal was made that Downside should build a monastery at Newport. An alternative plan was that the suppressed English monastery of Lambspring in Germany should be restored at Newport. As it happened, no suitable site for the building could be obtained at Newport ; and though the bishop clung for many years to the hope that the monastery and Chapter would eventually be in that town, such a plan was for the present out of the question. We cannot here go into details of the long negotiations which followed, but several alternative sites of an unsatisfactory nature were offered for the new monastery. At last, however, the deadlock was ended ; for it chanced that in Herefordshire a wealthy convert, Francis Wegg-Prosser, was building a large church as an act of thanksgiving for his conversion and was trying to find a religious community who would take it over. He was put in touch with the Benedictines and it was agreed that he should hand over the church to them on condition that they would build a monastery adjoining it on land given by Mr. Wegg-Prosser.

But it is with the bishop that we are concerned, and in fact it was he who played the major part in all this and pushed it through to a successful conclusion, though many times he lost patience with the long negotiations and threatened to build at Newport instead of at Belmont. For though in his best-known portrait Dr. Brown looks a strikingly benevolent old gentleman, he could in reality be extremely sharp and many of his surviving letters are surprisingly brusque in tone. However, in the end the monastery was built (to be the general novitiate and house of studies of the English Benedictines) ; and it was largely built by the bishop, for he supplied 70 per cent. of the funds. And so for the first time since the " reformation " there came into existence in England a Pro-Cathedral belonging to and

staffed by regulars—and one in which the primary function of the Canons, the public recitation of the Divine Office, was carried out. Belmont remained the Cathedral of the diocese until 1920 and, until the opening of Westminster Cathedral (*i.e.* for forty years), it was the only cathedral in the English-speaking world which did fulfil the above-mentioned duty of providing a public recitation of the Office. The building of the church began in 1855 and of the house in 1857, and all was completed by September 1859. From then on the bishop was provided with a Regular Chapter chosen from the monks at Belmont.

Bishop Brown's personal life was one of the utmost simplicity. It may well be imagined that he had no superfluity of money; and indeed he was sorely pressed for funds, not for his own use (though he had very little for himself) but for the ever increasing needs of his diocese, and his desire to build schools and churches and to increase the numbers of the clergy was constantly hampered by this fact. Yet he was indefatigable in his efforts and in fact was remarkably successful in these matters: many churches and schools were built. At his death in 1880 there were forty-seven churches or chapels, and his flock had grown to 40,000. He well deserved, therefore, Abbot Cuthbert Butler's description of him:[1] "A man of high character and strong personality, a scholar of ability, widely read in the Fathers and theologians, and a most apostolic missionary bishop, who by the sweat of his brow during his forty year's episcopate turned the desert that the Catholic Vicariate of Wales was in 1840 into the well-organised and flourishing diocese of Newport (now Cardiff) that his successor, Bishop Hedley, inherited in 1880."

The bishop himself lived in very humble style in an old converted farm-house between Hereford and Belmont, when not engaged on his many tours through his diocese. For many years he was the senior English bishop, and as such he had the right to consecrate Manning; but he waived the privilege, and the ceremony was performed by Bishop Ullathorne, though Brown was one of the two Assistant Bishops. Incidentally it was he who reported to Rome in 1859 Newman's article on "Consulting the Faithful in Matters of Doctrine," which had caused much displeasure both in England and Rome; yet he supported Newman's plan to open an Oratory at Oxford and also Newman's famous letter deploring (as inopportune) the Infallibility decree. And in fact at a meeting of the English bishops called to discuss the question whether Catholics should be allowed to go to the universities, Bishop Brown was at first the only one present to favour the opening of a Catholic Hall at Oxford, and he succeeded in winning over the majority of the others.

As he grew older the bishop's impulsiveness and his habit of plainly speaking his mind became more marked; and though never really eccentric, he did develop marked idiosyncrasies. So perhaps it is not altogether so

[1] Cuthbert Butler: *The Life and Times of Bishop Ullathorne*, I, 249.

very surprising to learn that in 1869 he refused to renew the faculties of the priest at Haverfordwest on account of his " being over given to smoking and wearing a singular costume "[1] ; while a letter still in existence shows that on another occasion he threatened to withdraw faculties from those priests who would not be vaccinated. But all the time there went on the incessant up-hill struggle against the ingrained inherited prejudice of so many of the Welsh people against Catholicism and the still more wearing struggle against chronic poverty. And in spite of these things the slow but steady progress continued. But the bishop was growing old and physically feeble, so that in 1873 he found it necessary to procure an Auxiliary Bishop. Accordingly he applied for and procured one of the Belmont professors, Dom Cuthbert Hedley of Ampleforth, to be his assistant, so that, though he retained all real power in his own hands, he was from then on freed from many of his worries and had fewer demands on his waning powers.

Throughout the many years of his long episcopate the bishop had kept up a close friendship with his fellow-bishop and fellow-Benedictine, Dr. Ullathorne. For more than fifty years the two were intimates, and Brown had been Ullathorne's schoolmaster when the latter came to Downside as a boy and, later, had been his theology professor when Ullathorne was a young monk. And yet only six years had separated the respective consecrations of the two bishops, both of whom were destined to labour for more than forty years in the episcopate ; and it is strange that the two Benedictine Vicars Apostolic long outlived all the others. The end came for Bishop Brown in 1880 at Bullingham near Hereford.

In those forty years Bishop Brown had seen a marvellous change come over Welsh Catholicism. Schools, churches, priests, laity : all had multiplied to a remarkable extent, and he could reflect that much, very much, had been accomplished in his lifetime of toil—and all this without burdening the diocese with debt. Of that he had always been careful ; he had always had a horror of debt and preferred to pursue his plans slowly and cautiously rather than to incur costs which could not be met. And so it was that after his death it was said of him by his successor, Bishop Hedley, that he had bequeathed to him " a diocese with very many and pressing needs, but as sound financially as any in the kingdom. It was poor indeed, but not weighed down with any crushing burden." And so the old warrior went to his rest, and his bones now lie in the chantry chapel that was built above his tomb in the Abbey Church at Belmont, which he had always loved so much and round which so many of his hopes had centred. What he had set out to do in 1840 he had to a great extent accomplished when the call came for him in 1880 ; and certain it is that no man could have done more or could have laid surer foundations than those on which his successors have since been able to build up the Church in Wales as we see it to-day.

BASIL HEMPHILL, O.S.B.

[1] Donald Attwater : *Op. cit.*

GREGORY VII AS MODERN SCHOLARS SEE HIM

BY AUBREY GWYNN, S.J.
Professor of Medieval History, University College, Dublin

HILDEBRAND, then a young chaplain of the unfortunate Pope Gregory VI, went into exile with his master in January 1047 and remained an exile at Cologne until Gregory's death in the following year. Twenty-five years later, when he himself had been elected Pope at a dramatic moment in the history of the Catholic Church, he took (or was given) the name of Gregory VII—thereby marking in a most public manner his conviction that Gregory VI had been unlawfully deposed by the Emperor Henry III at the synod of Sutri (1046). Nine hundred years have gone by since those stormy days, and the Benedictine community of St. Paul's Outside-the Walls have chosen this centenary, coming in the full crisis of our post-war years, for a public and international tribute to the memory of a great and fearless Pope. Father John Baptist Borino, a Salesian priest who is one of the *Scrittori* of the Vatican Library and who has made important contributions to more than one Hildebrandine problem, is the editor of these three handsome volumes, each of more than 500 pages.[1] He has gathered a notable team of experts from many European countries. Those who may perhaps have doubted the possibility that German scholarship could survive the disasters of the recent war, will find here proof to the contrary. Rome, as is natural, supplies a large proportion of the contributors. Father Borino himself, Mgr. A. Mercati and two other Italian scholars represent the Vatican Library. There are five essays from Italian scholars who hold, or have held, posts in the University of Rome. Two German Jesuits (F. Pelster and G. Hofmann) represent the Gregorian University and the Oriental Institute. Another German scholar (F. Bock) has been working for years in various Italian archives. Most of the German contributors are teaching in Germany: one or two are in charge of archival deposits. Three essays come from Tübingen, including one from the well-known Protestant historian Joh. Haller; two from Freiburg in Breisgau, including a notable essay from Professor Gert Tellenbach. Anton Michel, who has specialised in the biography of Cardinal Humbert, Hildebrand's contemporary and fellow-worker, is now teaching at the Theological Faculty of Freising in Bavaria; and there are contributions from Dillingen and Sigmaringen—all within the American zone. Professor Holtzmann sends an essay from

[1] *Studi Gregoriani*: Raccolti da G. B. Borino. Rome: Abbazia di San Paolo. 3 vols. 1947-8. (The volumes were in fact published in 1948 and 1949).

Bonn; and there are other contributions from Kiel, Göttingen, Fulda and Wiesbaden in the British zone. Berlin is represented by A. Brackmann, who signs himself as "Formerly Professor in Berlin". There is only one contribution from Vienna, once (like Berlin) a great home of historical studies. Stephan Kuttner, an expert in the history of Canon Law, writes from the Catholic University of Washington. France is represented by some distinguished names: Augustin Fliche, H. X. Arquillière and G. Bardy. There are also local contributions from Lille, Britanny and Provence. Dom H. Dauphin writes from Quarr abbey in the Isle of Wight. England, surprisingly, has no representative. Spain, Belgium, Ireland, the United States make up the rest of the list.

I

Much has been written about Hildebrand and his work in modern times. Have we made any real progress in the better understanding of a Pope whom friend and foe alike recognise as a man of heroic stature? Many of the essays included in these three volumes deal with small and technical points; but there are others which throw light on the central problems and which suggest that the greatest of medieval Popes commands new respect, and is more fully appreciated, in this age which has seen so dramatic a renewal of the age-old struggle between *Imperium* and *Sacerdotium*.

The first essay is from the pen of Father Borino. It is in part a justification of 1047 as the year to be commemorated in these volumes. The synod of Sutri marks the culmination of a movement which had placed the Holy See in strict subordination to the will of the German Emperor. Benedict IX, who had brought disgrace and confusion to the Holy See since his election in 1032, was driven from Rome by a rival party in 1044, and the bishop of Sabina took his place by force of arms as Silvester III. Benedict was able to expel his rival within a few weeks; and Father Borino has shown, from the evidence of some neglected contemporary deeds, that Silvester resigned all claim to the papacy and was content to remain as bishop in his former diocese of Sabina. But the return of Benedict was a disaster for all who wished for reform. Negotiations began which ended in the famous settlement of May 1045, by which Benedict accepted payment of a large sum of money and withdrew from the Holy See. His place was taken by John Gratian, a Roman archpriest, who took the name of Gregory VI. Hildebrand first appears in history as one of this Pope's chaplains. There were many who held that the compact of May 1045 vitiated Gratian's election, being an act of simony. The money does not seem to have been paid by Gratian: it was a settlement made, after hard bargaining, by those who were anxious at all costs to be rid of Benedict IX. From first to last, Hildebrand never wavered in his conviction that the election of Gregory VI was valid: the fact

that he called himself Gregory VII in 1073 is proof sufficient of his personal judgment. We know that there were others who held this view: among them Waso, bishop of Liège, who was later consulted on this point by Henry III. Hildebrand's action in accompanying the fallen Pope into exile is thus an act of loyalty to his master. But Father Borino is right in insisting that more than this is implied. Not content with presiding over a synod at which all three claimants—Benedict IX, Silvester III and Gregory VI—were declared unworthy of the papacy, Henry III nominated a German bishop as the man whom he wished to fill the vacant see. The Roman clergy and people were eager to confirm this nomination by their acclamations in St. Peter's, and Suidger, bishop of Maiendorf, thus became Pope Clement II. There were some, among them Hildebrand and the anonymous author of a short tract *De ordinando pontifice*, who rejected the Emperor's claim to take an active part in this election. For Hildebrand, Gregory VI was the true Pope until his death in exile at Cologne in 1048. Since Hildebrand was most probably not more than twenty-five or twenty-six years old at this time, his bold stand for the independence of the Roman Church in this vital question marks him as the man of the future.

In the *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati* (Vatican, 1946) Father Borino published an essay in which he discussed the question: when and where did Hildebrand become a monk? He argued very strongly for a view that helps us to understand the human side of the great Pope's vocation. In his early childhood there had been question of Hildebrand's dedication to the monastic life in Rome; but he was reared in the papal court and was not a monk in 1046-7. He was with Gregory VI at Cologne from 1047-8, but did not return to Rome until 1049 when he accompanied the new Pope Leo IX to Italy. In the short interval (1048-9) he took monastic vows. Father Borino holds that no satisfactory reason has ever been brought forward for rejecting the older tradition that Hildebrand was for a time a monk of Cluny.

Modern scholars have been inclined to belittle the connection between the two great reforming movements of the eleventh century, the Cluniac and the Hildebrandine. Perhaps the chief merit of Fliche's two volumes on *La Reforme grégorienne* (Louvain, 1927) was to bring home to all students the very real contrast between the cautious and more traditional policy of Cluny's two great abbots, Odilo and Hugh, and the very much bolder and more revolutionary policy of Roman cardinals such as Humbert and Hildebrand. Fliche stressed the connections between this latter policy and the teaching of some Lorraine reformers, notably Bishop Waso in Liège. All this is true—but it is no reason for rejecting out of hand the tradition that Hildebrand was himself a monk of Cluny. Father Borino's inquiry into the known facts of his early life shows that Hildebrand cannot have been more than a few months at Cluny before his

return to Rome in 1049. His actions in 1047 make it plain that he had formed his own ideas of ecclesiastical policy at an early age. But his vocation to a monastic life was constant, and Father Borino holds that he made a very real sacrifice when he followed Gregory VI into exile. " Invitus ultra montes cum domino papa Gregorio abii " : these are his own words in the famous prayer which he addressed to the two apostles, SS. Peter and Paul, in the presence of the Roman synod on that dramatic day when he pronounced sentence of excommunication and deposition against the rebellious Henry IV. Why unwilling? Because his own personal wish was for life in some great monastery, in Rome or elsewhere.

II

Once back in Rome, Hildebrand dedicated all his energies to the service of the Roman see. Several of the essays in these volumes throw light on the twenty-four years that separate his return with Leo IX in 1049 from his own election to the papacy in 1073. An essay by Father D. B. Zema, S.J. (of Fordham University) gives a very readable and clear account of the work which Hildebrand did in the restoration of order and prosperity to the papal territories in Italy. He became archdeacon in the autumn of 1059, soon after the election of Nicholas II; and he held this important post for the next fourteen years. But even before this appointment it is plain that he took an active part in restoring order where the government of Benedict IX and his predecessors had left nothing but confusion. The new archdeacon's practical ability, and his gift for raising money when it was needed, are attested by friend and foe. These gifts are all the more remarkable since the letters which have been preserved in the Pope's register speak a language which seems remote from all such temporal cares. Yet even as Pope Gregory was quick to insist on the rights of the Roman See, in things temporal as in things spiritual. He did not hesitate to remind William the Conqueror, for example, that the old Anglo-Saxon custom of annual payment of Peter's Pence had been allowed to lapse for some years; and he writes in similar tones to the king of Denmark and other princes. It is well known that Hildebrand, more than any other of the Roman Cardinals, favoured the new policy of alliance between the Normans and the Holy See. Father Zema reminds us that this alliance had an important value for the papal revenues.

Apart from his work for the temporal well-being of the Roman church, Hildebrand was one of those who were foremost in asserting the claims of canon law. The great work of two French scholars, Paul Fournier and Gabriel Lebras, has revealed the importance of that rapid development of canon law which begins in the eleventh century. The most popular of the collections which preceded the Gregorian reform is the collection of decrees known as Burchard's *Decretum*. It is of German origin and

insists far more on episcopal than on papal authority, though the Pope's supreme jurisdiction is assumed. In 1943 Dr. Anton Michel published his *Sentenzen des Kardinals Humbert,* in which he identified another collection, commonly known as " the collection of 74 titles ", as the work of Cardinal Humbert of Moyenmoutier. Michel agrees with Fournier in dating this compilation c. 1051. St. Peter Damian, in one of the many letters which he addressed to Hildebrand—his " holy Satan ", as he calls him in a well-known phrase—tells us that Hildebrand had once urged him to compile a new collection, which the reformers could use as a weapon in their work for the new policy of centralised government from Rome. Peter Damian regretfully admits that he has never found time for the work, though his mission to the church of Milan in 1059 had taught him the need of such a manual. He died without attempting the task which his " holy Satan " had imposed on him.

In 1944 Father Borino published an essay in which he suggested that the famous *Dictatus Papae*—one of the most controversial texts in Gregory VII's register—is in fact no more than a *capitulatio* (or draft table of contents) of some such manual which the Pope was planning for his own use. Two of the contributors to these volumes—Karl Hofmann and Stephan Kuttner—give their unqualified assent to this conjecture. If it be accepted, a most puzzling document has at last been satisfactorily explained. Father Borino has shown that parallel texts of earlier date can be found for every phrase, even the most challenging, in this provocative text—most of them, it is true, in pseudo-Isidore. He has promised to edit the text of the *Dictatus Papae* with these parallel texts, giving us a conjectural restoration of the *collectio canonum* which the Pope had in mind when he dictated this *capitulatio.*

That brings us to the problems connected with the actual text of the Pope's register. Progress was slow here until Father Peitz published his detailed study of the original volume in 1911. Erich Caspar's critical edition in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (1920-23) gave us a text that can be used with confidence, though Caspar was too confident in his attempt to distinguish between those texts which he marked with an asterisk as having been dictated by the Pope himself, and others which he recognised as rough drafts or the work of other men. In general it seems clear that the register was not kept up to date with each succeeding year of Gregory VII's rule. It gives us an immensely valuable collection of documents : some of them copies of letters which were actually sent by the Pope, others no more than rough drafts which may have been revised (as is certain from one or two cases where the draft in the register can be compared with the original which was actually sent) or which may, for one reason or another, never have been sent at all. The secretary who compiled this volume is unknown to us. He made mistakes, and the inclusion of the *Dictatus Papae* under the year 1075 seems to be one of

his mistakes. Every student of the register knows that it is most defective for the last years of the Pope's life. Yet it would be wrong to conclude from this defective portion of the register that Gregory VII was not as active in these last years, when he was hard pressed by his enemies, as in his earlier and more hopeful years. As it happens, we have a record of his activity in one field which seems to belong, on internal evidence, to the years 1083-6. In a *Collectio canonum* which Cardinal Deusdedit compiled at Gregory's request, the third book is in fact a tax-list of the papal estates in the time of Gregory VII. Deusdedit seems to have had before him a fuller register or tax-list, from which he has made this list for the convenience of papal administrators. Paul Fabre, who edited the *Liber Censuum* of Cencius (the future Pope Honorius III) in 1886, compared this thirteenth-century tax-list with the earlier list in Deusdedit's work, and observed with great truth that Hildebrand was in fact a predecessor of Cardinal Cencius. Hildebrand and Cencius are, it may also be said, the predecessors of those financial experts who made the papal administrative system of the fourteenth century the most modern and scientific system of the medieval period.

III

Turning for a moment from the administrative ability of this great Pope to a question which affects his moral character, every student should compare the essay which Professor Haller of Tübingen has contributed to the second volume of these *Studi* with a criticism of this essay which Anton Michel has contributed to the third volume. Haller is, of course, a representative of what may be called the old-fashioned Protestant approach to the study of Hildebrand's career. He is not as violent as Hauck. He has learned much from recent Catholic criticisms, but Hildebrand is still for him the Pope who broke the traditional unity of the German Empire as it had come down from Otto the Great to Henry III; the great precursor of later Popes who claimed, more and more openly, temporal as well as spiritual supremacy for the Roman See. In the second volume of his very readable *Papsttum* (1937) he gave a dramatic account of the means by which Gregory VII had succeeded in breaking the resistance of an almost unanimous German hierarchy. In January 1076 Henry IV had defied Hildebrand "the false monk" and had bidden him come down from his papal throne as an impostor and disturber of the peace in Christendom. Almost without exception the German bishops had supported their king in this reckless defiance of papal authority. They were still on the king's side at Easter when the bishop of Utrecht, at Henry's order, excommunicated the Pope (or rather the alleged Pope) in reply to Gregory's public sentence of excommunication and deposition. How are we to account for the sudden and complete breakdown of this defiant opposition in the autumn of the same year? Haller claims

to have found the answer to this problem in a passage of a contemporary Saxon chronicler, which he sets beside a small group of South German manuscripts which contain a revised and enlarged version of Cardinal Humbert's manual of canon law. This German version of the text gives an appendix with two particularly convincing passages from early Roman Popes, Gregory I and Hadrian I, which set forth in plain language the Pope's right to excommunicate and depose kings. The manuscripts which contain this unusual text have a note at the beginning of the collection stating that this book had been brought across the Alps by papal legates. Haller points out that the Saxon chronicler cites these two passages in his account of the assembly at Tribur, which was held in the autumn of 1076. The Pope's legates spent ten anxious days in argument with the German bishops, who had come to meet them and discuss their duty towards the two chief disputants. After ten days of conference, the bishops surrendered on all points. They had been defeated in the great debate; and Haller maintains that the decisive argument came from these two passages, both taken from the False Decretals, which Gregory VII had himself selected for this purpose and had added in a special appendix to this "doctored" version of Cardinal Humbert's book.

In itself the charge is not incredible. Gregory VII, like all his contemporaries, believed unquestioningly in the authenticity of pseudo-Isidore's False Decretals. We know that he urged Peter Damian to make a special *collectio canonum* which might be used by the Roman reformers. The note in these German manuscripts lets us know that a *collectio canonum* was brought across the Alps by Roman legates at some time during this crisis. Haller would thus seem to have strong reasons for his view that the revised text contained in this group of Swabian manuscripts is in fact the actual text of the *collectio* and that it was used by the Pope's legates at Tribur in the autumn of 1076. The two texts from Gregory I and Hadrian I proved too much for the German bishops, who yielded reluctantly to this apparent evidence of Roman claims going back to the sixth century. In the essay which he has contributed to these *Studi Gregoriani* Haller himself admits that he was taken aback to find that any competent scholar could question the cogent value of his argument. Two Catholic historians have, none the less, attacked this over-simple view of what happened in the autumn of 1076. In 1938, Carl Erdmann, who has since died, criticised Haller's interpretation of the evidence. Haller replied in an article entitled *Der Weg nach Canossa*, which appeared in 1939 and was reprinted in his *Abhandlungen* (1944). These dates are worth recalling, for they testify to the lively interest which modern Hitlerite Germany was taking in the German-Roman controversies of an earlier age. In 1943 Michel published *Die Sentenzen des Kardinal Humberts*, in which he dealt with this group of German manuscripts. Haller replied to these criticisms in an essay which is printed

in vol. II of these *Studi Gregoriani* (1947). Michel speaks the last word in vol. III (1948); and it would seem that he has the best of the argument. For there are serious difficulties in the theory which Haller has asserted with such confidence. The legates who presided at Tribur did not come from Rome, but were German bishops whom Gregory VII had delegated to act in his name. If the note in these manuscripts is correct, the revised version cannot have been brought across the Alps before 1077—and the appendix may have been added at a later date. Michel gives reasons for dating this latter portion of the text some ten years after 1076. He believes that the entry in the Saxon chronicle, combined with the existence of this appendix in the German manuscripts, proves no more than that a *collectio*, with these two important texts from Gregory I and Hadrian I, was extant in South Germany during the crisis of 1076-87. His final argument from the manuscript evidence is very strong. If this revised version of Humbert's *collectio*, with the important pro-Roman texts of its appendix, was produced in Rome at the Pope's order in 1076, why are there no copies of this version in any Italian manuscript? All the extant texts of this version come from German libraries and are of German origin. The Pope had every reason to circulate copies of his manual in Italy as well as in Germany during these critical months. Why did he not do so?

IV

Cardinal Humbert is only one of an exceptionally active College of Cardinals during Hildebrand's lifetime. Desiderius, abbot of Monte Cassino, was made a Cardinal by Nicholas II and served through the reigns of Nicholas II, Alexander II and Gregory VII. He was chosen to succeed Hildebrand in 1087. His reign as Victor II was very short, from March to September of that year. But his long rule as abbot of Monte Cassino (1058-87) is a period of great splendour in the history of the famous abbey. Wilhelm Wuhr, now teaching in the Catholic Faculty at Freising in Bavaria, contributes a long essay to these *Studi Gregoriani* on the revival of Monte Cassino under the immediate predecessor of Desiderius—Abbot Richar, who came to the abbey from Upper Bavaria. That Monte Cassino should be reformed by a German abbot in the first half of the eleventh century is less surprising when we remember that the Holy See was being reformed by German Popes within the next generation.

Students of palaeography will not need to be reminded of the remarkable "Beneventan script" which is characteristic of the *scriptorium* of Monte Cassino in this century. Father Borino publishes, as a frontispiece to volume II of these *Studi*, an unusually interesting specimen from the archives of the great abbey. It is the text of a charter by which some inhabitants of Ferentino granted the church of St. Valentine to the monks

of Monte Cassino on 24 May 1061. The special interest of this text is that Hildebrand, then archdeacon of Rome, has added his autograph signature to this charter in a simple and easily legible cursive script, which is in marked contrast to the Beneventan script of the rest of the document. If we may trust Father Borino, this charter gives us the only surviving specimen of Gregory VII's handwriting.

Most of us know little of the results achieved by the Hildebrandine reforms in Spain. For that reason a long essay by Luciano de la Calzada, dean of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters in the University of Murcia, is all the more welcome. He begins with an account of the important influence of the Cluniac reformers in Spain. The kingdoms of Leon and Castille were united under Ferdinand I and, again (after a short interval of civil war) under his son Alphonso VI. The reign of Alphonso VI coincides with the pontificates of Gregory VII and the French crusading Pope Urban II. Alphonso succeeded in making the war against Islam something more than a local strife between two neighbours; and he also succeeded in bringing his Spanish kingdoms within the sphere of full European life. He was stronger than his contemporary, Peter of Aragon, who joined forces with him in the crusade against the Moors which culminated in the conquest of the kingdom of Toledo (1085). Alphonso VI did not surrender his kingdoms to take them back from Gregory VII as feudal overlord, as Peter surrendered and received back Aragon. But Alphonso introduced the Roman rite into his kingdoms, thus ending the long period of Mozarabic liturgy; and he may justly be counted as the man who, more than any other, made Spain a part of Europe. In that work Gregory VII took his full share. Dr. Luciano de la Calzada calls special attention to a letter which the Pope addressed to the king as *glorioso regi Hispaniae*. Just one year before that date Alphonso had begun to style himself *imperator totius Hispaniae*. The title is, of course, misleading if we judge the king's claims by the geographical extent of his kingdoms. But it is largely justified as describing the work of a ruler who " made Spain finally a living and effective part of the West and of Christendom ".

The absence of any essay on an English subject or by an English scholar is a surprising omission from these volumes. The name of Lanfranc suggests many problems on which modern critics have been engaged. In his *English Church from William the Conqueror to the Reign of John* (Cambridge, 1931) the late Professor Z. N. Brooke showed how much light could be obtained from a careful study of the surviving manuals of canon law in English libraries. Some of these early manuals can be traced to Lanfranc's influence, just as some of the contemporary Roman manuals are due to the personal encouragement of Gregory VII. There is also the age-old problem of England's relations with the Holy See. The annual payment of Peter's Pence is now known to be in origin an

Anglo-Saxon custom, dating from pre-Conquest times. Gregory VII demanded payment of this tax, and pressed also for a more explicit act of homage. The Conqueror, guided by Lanfranc's advice, admitted the claim to payment of Peter's Pence, but refused to do homage for his new kingdom. Or again a more personal study of the relations between Lanfranc and Alexander II, who had once been his pupil at Bec, would have been welcome. Towards Gregory VII, whom he had known as Cardinal Hildebrand, Lanfranc showed all due deference without conceding any claim that touched ancient English custom. Most notable of all was the legal victory by which Gregory VII was persuaded to tolerate in England that custom of royal investiture with ring and staff which he denounced with such vigour in all other Christian kingdoms.

Lanfranc's prestige as scholar, lawyer and theologian is attested by a letter in which he replied to certain questions, some of literary, others of theological interest, which an Irish bishop Donatus—most probably Domhnall Ua h-Enna—had put him in a letter written c. 1080. The fact that Lanfranc, as archbishop of Canterbury, established his right to consecrate the bishops of Dublin, and received an oath of fealty from two bishops of that city in 1074 and 1084, is familiar to all students of Irish history. Most modern scholars have set aside as spurious a letter which Ussher published three hundred years ago from a manuscript which was then, and still is, among the manuscripts collected by Sir Robert Cotton and now among the most precious treasures of the British Museum. I have examined this problem afresh in an essay which is printed in the third volume of these *Studi*. Those who have rejected the letter as spurious have argued almost entirely from the fact that the letter is dated from Sutri on 24 February of some unnamed year. Gregory VII was usually in Rome at this time of the year, and it is possible to eliminate several years from the evidence of his register. But, even though the letter were in fact dated from Sutri, there are two or three years in which this letter could be fitted without difficulty into the Pope's known itinerary. To my surprise, when the manuscript was at last returned to the Reading Room of the British Museum after the war, I found that the text is uncertain on this point. The date is given as from Sutri in the hand of the main body of the text; but a corrector's hand has added points to denote an error and has written the word *marino* as an interlinear correction above *Sutri*. Marino, which is known to have been a papal residence soon after this time, lies close to Rome and could be reached in a couple of hours. The argument from the Pope's itinerary thus falls to the ground; and I believe that no other solid argument has ever been adduced to throw doubt on the authenticity of this letter. In it Gregory VII exhorts Terdelvachus (Toirdelbach Ua Briain), to whom he writes as *inclito regi Hibernie*, with the archbishops, bishops, abbots, nobles and Christian inhabitants of the island to seek advice from the Roman See and to bind themselves closer to Rome in the bonds of charity.

The practical effect of Gregory VII's letter is attested by two documents which have come to light in the last few years. Dom André Wilmart, who made so many discoveries in the unpublished manuscripts scattered throughout the libraries of Europe, found a manuscript in the Vatican Library which can be dated to the late eleventh century on palaeographical and other grounds. One page of this manuscript contains two marginal notes which give us the names, at two separate dates, of a small group of Irish monks who seem to have been living in a community on the Palatine Hill in Rome. An entry in the Annals of Innisfallen for the year 1095 gives us the name of Eogan, who died in that year as " head of the monks of the Gael in Rome " (*cend manach na Gaedel in Roim*). Is the sudden appearance of this Irish community in Rome within ten years of the death of Gregory VII an unexpected and most valuable witness to the response which Irish pilgrims made to the great Pope's appeal : that the Irish people should bind themselves closer to Rome in the bonds of charity? Five or six years later (1101) Paschal II, who had succeeded to Urban II at a time when the Roman movement of reform was going from strength to strength all over Europe, authorised an Irish bishop, Mael Muire Ua Dunain, to preside as his personal legate over a reforming synod held at Cashel. Had the activity of Gregory VII not been frustrated by the disasters brought upon him by the enmity of Henry IV, an Irish legate or a Roman legate might have presided over an earlier reforming council in Ireland fifteen or twenty years before this date. The current notion that the " Romanising movement " within the Irish Church had its origin in the personal exhortations of Lanfranc and St. Anselm, and that it lacked all real strength before the time of St. Malachy and St. Bernard, would seem to need considerable revision.

In the nineteenth century German scholars were for the most part hostile to Gregory VII. It is fitting that a German Catholic scholar, Gert Tellenbach, should contribute an essay to these *Studi Gregoriani* which recalls the main teaching of his earlier work (1936), *Libertas*: *Kirche und Weltordnung im Zeitalter des Investiturstreites*. His plea is for the unity of Europe, which was achieved in no small degree by the Popes of the Middle Ages. Not all Gregory VII's plans were successful. We need to remind ourselves that the final schism between East and West, which has had so disastrous an outcome in our own generation, was completed within Hildebrand's lifetime, when Michael Caerularius rejected the claims made by Cardinal Humbert who went to Constantinople as the papal legate of Leo IX. But Hildebrand, whom Catholics revere as St. Gregory VII, stands head and shoulders above his contemporaries. He challenges our faith and courage to-day as never before. He is one of the makers of our European tradition : a great Roman and a great European.

AUBREY GWYNN

SOME IMPRESSIONS OF BERLIN

A RECENT VISIT

BY JOHN MURRAY, S.J.

I WAS in Germany for most of November of last year, and half of that time was spent in Berlin.

I

I reached the Hook of Holland comfortably at seven or so in the morning (the day was November the 3rd), after a crossing so little perturbed that I never noticed we were at sea. When I disembarked—I was one of the last to leave—the morning was grey and very cold. I congratulated myself on having brought a heavy coat with me, and imagined I would have real need of it in Berlin, with those icy winds that blow there over the bare plains from the East. As a matter of fact, I never required it again after that chilly morning at the Hook of Holland.

We left the Hook in the official train of the Control Commission for Germany and travelled via Arnhem and Utrecht towards the frontier of Holland. It was still intensely cold, but shortly the sun appeared, the frost diminished and the temperature began to rise.

From Holland across the border to Emmerich. Emmerich was sad and desolate—a foretaste of the depression and destruction we were to journey through during the rest of that afternoon. Ruined houses and buildings to either side of the track; large blotches of void and emptiness, with a fringe of grass-grown site and street. It was a similar story the whole way through Oberhausen and Mülheim as far as Essen. Yet the steel foundries were working, and there were large stretches of open countryside between these industrial towns of the Ruhr that told of a planning absent in most industrial lands.

Essen, seen from the railway, was a town of twisted girders and tumbled rubble; and, as we passed steaming slowly through the city from the *Westbahnhof* to the *Hauptbahnhof*, a pall of grey smoke seemed to hang above the ruined works and houses. We drew up in the main station. On the platform opposite was a great assembly of people, some of them clearly in their Sunday best. Could they be travelling? And indeed what kind of train could have accommodated them *all*? Maybe some excursion. Yet four o'clock of the afternoon was very late as a starting hour. But, just as our train was set in motion, I understood the significance of this gathering. For, while we began to move Eastwards, another train drew in from the East, with a brush of greenery in front of the engine. It was crammed and crowded with soldiers returning from captivity in

Russia. I could not see much of them as they passed, except to notice how grey and weary they appeared, despite the efforts the Russians sometimes make to return prisoners in apparently good condition.

Bochum and Dortmund told the same tale of destruction. Indeed, I recall the station at Dortmund where the overhead framework of iron girders had been twisted into the most fantastic shapes, like some unholy construction out of an Inferno or from some Witches' Sabbath. Then, shortly after six o'clock and well up to time, the train arrived at Herford. And four hours later, I caught the Control Commission train for Berlin.

I woke the next morning before we reached Berlin. The train was moving leisurely through woods to the west of the city. Thin and listless were the woods that morning, and the rare leaves, parched and russet, hung limply from the boughs of larch or birch ; the dark green of the pines seemed darker even against that thinning patchwork background. We were now, of course, in the Russian zone, having entered it at Helmstedt during the night. The doors of the railway coaches were sealed with chains twisted round the door handles. No one could dismount, and no Russian was supposed to come on the train, the Russian authorities being provided with a detailed list of the travellers. This Control Commission train enters Berlin every morning shortly before seven o'clock and leaves each evening at ten p.m.

II

My first impression of Berlin was of a sad and pathetic and tragic city. This first impression altered considerably during my stay, however, as I obtained a more complete picture of city and people.

On every side one was made conscious of destruction. You might once wander through the *Tiergartenviertel,* with its large substantial houses—embassies, government offices, homes of wealthy business men and bankers. Now, practically nothing survives entire. Whole streets have just collapsed, like the proverbial packs of cards, and have collapsed inwardly ; the houses have fallen literally to pieces—pieces of brickwork and masonry. Much of the ruin has been cleared, but sufficient is still there to provide an eloquent commentary upon the senselessness of aggression. Yet Cardinal von Preysing, with whom I spent a most interesting hour and a half and who received me with great kindness, told me that by comparison Dresden presented a more terrible picture.

The *Tiergarten* itself, once a wide splendour of green meadows, was untidy and bedraggled, for its grass surface had been ploughed up for vegetables during the 1948–1949 blockade of the city ; only just recently had the City Council decided to bring it back to normal ; men and women were working at the edges, hoeing out lines and boundaries. In the *Tiergarten* loomed up unwieldy and fantastic shapes. They were *Bunkers*

or vast air-raid shelters of massive concrete which had been blown up; the charges used had not been strong enough, however, to destroy these shelters, but had cracked and split them and thrown them out of balance. In the hazy atmosphere of an autumn morning they seemed like monsters from some primeval world or ships that had foundered in a narrow roadstead, rising cumbrously and pathetically out of the water.

Through the *Tiergarten* runs what was once a magnificent avenue, the *Charlottenburgerchaussée*, part of the main West-East axis running athwart Berlin. I walked as far as the first *Rond Point*, where stands the monument set up to commemorate the Prussian triumph over France in 1870–71, the *Grosser Stern*, a column surmounted with a star. To the north of the monument, where the road bends through a semicircle, are three large statues that symbolise the growth of Prussia's military power. To the left, as you face them, is the statue of Albrecht Graf von Roon, the Prussian Minister of War, and underneath runs the significant inscription: "With his programme of military reform he prepared the way for victory in the wars of 1864, 1866, and 1870–71." The central figure, standing a short distance from the road, is that of Bismarck—long and lean and in uniform; the figure remains, but bombs have torn away the proud inscription. To the right stands Helmuth Graf von Moltke, Prussian chief of staff in the three wars; underneath this statue ran the sentence: "According to his plans of campaign were the three wars of 1864, 1866 and 1870–71 carried through to victory."

Here was a point and moment to pause. Here were three of the men who had made nineteenth-century Prussia and nineteenth-century Germany —three of the men who, consciously or not, had prepared the sorry history of twentieth-century Europe. They created a machine which was twice to be hurled against the world to blast and destroy; but in the end it was destined to bring about the greatest destruction of all in its own homeland.

Was wird aus Deutschland? What will happen with Germany? This question interests and concerns every European, for the tragic condition of Europe to-day springs, to some considerable extent, from this fact that too many Germans have been good Prussians but very bad Europeans. Even to one who knows them reasonably well the Germans remain a puzzle. It is easy to speak of their docility, to say that, while they have a fair proportion of the domestic virtues, they have scant political sense, that they throw all public responsibility on officers and officials and then do what they are told—regardless of what it is. There is much truth in this, but the Germans will answer that a firmly centralised authority was necessary in Germany to overcome the marked regional differences and to hold the people together in a political unity, the like of which was achieved centuries ago in France and England. They will reply also that strong authority was required to curb the individualistic, even anarchist, tendencies of many a German.

A little reflection on nineteenth-century German philosophy bears this out, for this philosophy is highly subjective. Indeed, much of it scarcely deserves the name of *philosophy* precisely because it is so subjective. It does not set out to discover truth, to find something stable and valid for the human mind ; it constructs its own system, spinning it out of some general or individual consciousness till in the end you have a Spanish castle woven from the imagination—a work, however clever or entertaining, of mental architecture. And then, oddly enough, in this German tradition the subjective mood of thought ends with the glorification of authority or of the State. Hegel, the idealist, was none the less the philosopher of the absolute State—directly, when he argued that the State was the highest sublunary incarnation of the evolving *Geist* or spirit, and indirectly through the Left-wing interpretation of his dialectic by Marx and the Marxists.

The question *Was wird aus Deutschland?* has very different undertones in post-war Berlin from those it awakens in Western or Southern Germany. The Berliner might well reply that the future of Germany, and even more of Berlin, depends in the long run upon foreign factors over which the German has no control. In West Berlin one is very soon made conscious of the Russian problem. There are the Russians—only just across this street or behind that archway. Pass through the Brandenburger Tor, only a short mile from the *Grosser Stern*, and you are in the Russian sector. Late in 1949 the Russians called into existence an Eastern German government, under the presidency of a veteran Communist, Wilhelm Pieck, whom the people term, with no particular humour or affection, *Wilhelm der Dritte*. This government, although it includes members of other parties, such as the Christian Democratic Union and the Liberals, is in reality a puppet administration on the familiar lines, and it was set up without even the façade of an election. Many Germans remarked to me that the German Communists in the Eastern sector or the zone were worse and more unpleasant to deal with than the Russians. Maybe this is the energy of the newly-converted. Maybe it is an attitude of bluff to hide interior opposition or discontent.

I gathered the definite impression that the Russians have not made up their mind what policy to follow in Eastern Germany. They have not yet reduced the country to the status of Hungary or Roumania—made it a satellite State. Naturally, they have seized the Press and Radio, dissolved all non-Communist organizations, and laid heavy hand upon the youth movements, which have all been integrated in the one Communist grouping, the Young Pioneers. But, on the other hand, they are attempting to win over the Eastern Germans. Their motive here is obvious ; they hope not entirely to estrange the Germans of the West and South. Over against the Western Powers, the Russians have one important card in their hand. That card is Berlin. They do not occupy the whole of Berlin. None the

less, Berlin is put out of action, politically, as long as it is (to use the Berliners' own expression) *eine Insel im roten Meer*, an island in the Red Sea; it is out of action so long as it remains surrounded by and engulfed in the Russian zone. Berlin remains the natural rallying point of a unified Germany. In 1945 there may have been—indeed there was—a reaction against Berlin; the other German regions, glad to be rid of Berlin and Prussia, were not sorry that the Prussians should have to put up with Russian occupation. Since 1945, however, the attitude has changed. The people of Berlin have shown a spirit of moral and psychological resistance to the Russians which has been admirable and has definitely impressed their fellow Germans.

III

The separation of Germany into zones and the similar quadripartite division of Berlin have created or accentuated differences among the German people. There is, in the first place, a definite "growing apart" of Berlin and Western Germany. One reason for this is the isolation of Berlin. Berliners cannot travel to Western or Southern Germany except with the greatest difficulty. To do so, they must have a Russian permit to travel through the Russian zone, and such permits are rarely given. The Berliners complain that Western and Southern Germans do not understand their peculiar position. The West, they urge, has now a government of its own at Bonn; conditions in the West are improving rapidly; hopes are promising for the future. In Berlin, on the other hand, conditions are highly artificial. The city needs subsidies from the West German government, and I have heard Western Germans deploring this unfortunate necessity. There is considerable unemployment—over a quarter of a million are without work. No doubt, the situation is far better than it was during the blockade of 1948–49, but it is far from easy or comfortable. Until the whole problem of Berlin is solved—and the prospects at the moment are nugatory—the city will not be able to lead a normal existence.

The presence of the Russians in East Berlin lends a characteristic air to the city. After you have been there for a few days, you sense a quality in the atmosphere. There is a tenseness, an expectancy; it is as though you were in the front defence line of some military position, except that the shells are not flying. The people are "keyed up," on a certain strain; anything could happen. This results in a mood of *exhilaration*, if that be the correct term, and the atmosphere of Western Germany seems somewhat *flat* after you have been in Berlin. Officials of the Control Commission assured me that they much preferred working in Berlin to any other occupation centre; there was more *life*—not in the sense of comfort or convenience, but in a more profound sense. In Berlin

the people are very alive—alive to the perils of their position, alive to what they stand for as they face the East, alive in their mental alertness and vigour. Certainly I had no impression of fatigue and discouragement and resignation at any rate in West Berlin.

The atmosphere changes once you cross into the Russian sector. Not that you see many Russians. They are rarely visible, and then usually in groups. They seem afraid to go about alone or maybe their authorities are too mistrustful of human nature to take this risk. More recent policy has been to withdraw Russian troops and police and to segregate them in central depots like Karlshorst or the Luisenstrasse. In West Berlin life may be hard, but the people do breathe a free air ; they are not openly molested ; they do not walk in insecurity and anxiety. In the East, however, fear stalks the streets and open places. Men never are sure that they will not be interfered with ; every day come stories of men who did not return to their homes on the previous day. No one knows what precisely has happened to them. Every one suspects that they have been drafted to some labour camp or to the dreaded uranium mines of Saxony. A pall of uncertainty hangs over the sector. The people are silent in the streets, as if they were listening for the tread of a pursuer ; there is no humour, no gaiety any more, only a grey and grim earnestness that hangs on as may be to the ordinary decencies of human life and looks blankly forwards to the morrow that may never come.

Conditions are more difficult here than in the Western sectors. The inhabitants buy what the Russians leave over for them, either in private shops or in the communal stores—*H.O.* or *Handelsorganizationen*—which the Russians have opened. The Eastern mark has only one-sixth of the value of the Western mark ; the same nominal wages in Western and Eastern Berlin stand in the ratio of six to one. Consequently, it is very difficult for East Berliners to buy from the West or to pay bills—for instance, if they send their children to school in the Western sectors, a common practice among good Catholic parents, since they can have no religious schooling in the East. To complicate the pattern, the Russians encourage West Berliners to shop in the East, and this benefits both the West Berliners and the Russians. For the former, with their Western currency, goods in the East are cheap ; and they can purchase fruit and vegetables that have come in from the surrounding countryside in Russian occupation : the latter, because they are glad of this extra source of Western marks. The ones who suffer are the people of East Berlin who see their food supplies whisked away from under their noses. Shortages in this sector are very real and evident. I learnt, to take one instance, from the head of a large hospital that they had normally neither eggs nor chicken and practically no milk for two hundred and more patients.

What adds to the note of desolation here is the terrible area of destruction in what was the centre of Berlin—the German equivalent of

the London Whitehall and Oxford and Regent Streets. The large buildings which flank *Unter den Linden* are destroyed or completely gutted. Much of this damage was done deliberately by the Russians after the capture of Berlin. The American and French Embassies to one side of the *Brandenburger Tor*, the Opera, the University, the Catholic cathedral of St. Hedwig—all are ruined, as are the government offices along the Wilhelmstrasse; the only two offices that remain reasonably intact are the two erected under the Hitler regime, namely the new *Reichskanzlei* and the *Luftwaffeministerium* of Hermann Göring. Shopping avenues like the Friedrichstrasse are crumpled and deserted. The region around the Protestant *Dom*, the *Lustgarten* and the *Schloss* and that between the Spree and the Alexanderplatz have been blasted into a grey spectre world of distorted and horrible shapes.

IV

What effect is the Russian occupation having upon the Germans? That is a question often and naturally discussed. That the Germans resent this occupation is to be expected. All occupying forces are unpopular; it is only a question of degree of unpopularity. No one imagines that the American or British troops in Germany are popular; all one can say is that their presence is welcome as a counterbalance to the Russians. I have heard the opinion stoutly maintained in Western Germany that, after their contact with and experience of the Russians, the German people—at least outside the sphere of Russian pressure—have been completely *immunisiert* or immunized against Communism. This is probably true in the West, though difficult economic circumstances could always be exploited for the Communist advantage. In the Eastern zone the majority of the Germans are anti-Russian and anti-Communist; of this the Russians are well aware. The danger of Communist influence comes from two sources: the first, through the indoctrination of the youth. The organization of the *Junge Pioniere*—the official and the only youth movement—is Communist; it offers an attractive programme of sport and camping as well as its training in ideology; membership of the movement is a necessary preliminary to a good job or to admittance to the universities. Large numbers of German youth are practically compelled to belong to it; and even where they have their mental reservations regarding its ideas, some of them are certain to be deeply influenced. The Russians are hoping to form, and think they are forming, an *élite*, not necessarily a large *élite*, among the youth of Eastern Germany. The second source is the fact that the livelihood of considerable numbers of people is bound up with the present administration; they may have little sympathy with Soviet ideas, but they have in fact to collaborate.

Nor should one forget one element in the German mentality which

tended to look Eastwards rather than Westwards and held that Germany's proper policy consisted in an understanding and alliance with Russia as opposed to the Western countries. How strong this tendency remains after German experience of Russia and the Russians throughout the last five years, I hesitate to guess. But it is a factor that cannot be ignored ; and it is, I think, fairly certain that many German nationalists see the best possibility of a national resurgence through association with Soviet Russia.

While in Berlin, I attended some meetings of a *Studententagung* to which Catholic students had come from the Russian zone. In the discussion emerged a difference of outlook among the students. Those from Berlin argued that Berlin was in the most favourable position for directing the student university movement in the East, since Berlin alone had direct access to the West. What was necessary, they insisted, was that Berlin should act as *Dolmetscher* or interpreter between East and West ; the danger existed that students in East Germany would be isolated and lose contact with Western German students. The delegates from East Germany retorted that Western students were unaware of the special difficulties under which Eastern students were labouring and tended to be indifferent to these Eastern problems. Others declared that the Berlin students had no monopoly when it came to a proper German outlook, and some added that the Berliners had not the proper German outlook at all.

There was some sharp discussion over the revival of the old student *Verbindungen* or corps, which had been abolished by the Nazis. Some opposed these corps because they represented an old and outmoded German spirit, to which it was foolish and unrealistic to return. In the Eastern zone no such *Verbindungen* were tolerated. The revival of student corps life, it was argued, drove another wedge between the students of West and East.

This evidence of different attitudes was most revealing. Indeed these differences are an important element, when we reflect upon the future rôle of the Germans in Europe. I came across many indications of such a difference in outlook ; first, between the people of Berlin and those of Western Germany, then between West and East Berlin, and finally between the Berliners as a whole and the Germans in the Russian zone.

V

It is only too evident that building and housing problems in Berlin are immense ; they are in fact insoluble. I do not see, for instance, how the *Tiergartenviertel* could ever be rebuilt as it was. Even in the West sectors the ruins have not been completely cleared ; there remain pools of utter desolation. Long fashionable streets like the Kurfürstendamm and the Kaiserdamm have a curiously unbalanced appearance, deriving

from the huge gaps torn in the shops and offices to either side; all proportion between road width and the height of the buildings has been lost. Some revival is, of course, in progress. Shops have reopened, many of them improvised and of one story only, with a background of ruin and rubble. One whole department store was recently opened near the Zoo station; it was entirely improvised, a *tour de force*. Cinemas function, restaurants offer a varied and appetising menu at prices high but not exorbitant; occasionally you notice an announcement outside of some restaurant or club that dancing will continue until five a.m. But these notices have an air of *bravado* in this beleaguered city, with its ill-lighted streets, its shabby atmosphere, and the all-too-striking scars of battle.

The housing problem of Berlin and indeed of the whole of Germany is complicated by the influx of eleven and a half million *Flüchtlinge* into post-war Germany. In the truncated Germany of 1950 there are this number of inhabitants *extra*—over the pre-war population. An area with sixty million people has now to absorb nearly twelve million more; and it must be remembered that the proportion of sex and age is not at all uniform. The *Flüchtlinge* include an abnormal proportion of old folk, of women and of children. Here be it said, in passing, that the criticism levelled by certain politicians in England against the Bonn government, that it has created an unemployment situation through its return to free enterprise, is disingenuous. The large unemployment difficulty in Western Germany has been created not by any German policy but by the policy of the Allies who brought about or at least agreed to this monstrous displacement of population and thus increased the number of Germans in the Western zones by some seven million.

Among these *Flüchtlinge* are five and a half million Catholics: nearly two and a half million from Bohemia, close on two million from Silesia; in addition, there are 500,000 from West and East Prussia, 200,000 from the Baltic States, and 600,000 from the Balkans. The distribution of these Catholic *Flüchtlinge* is the following: 2,235,000 in the American zone; 1,065,000 in the British; 80,000 with the French; and finally, 2,120,000 in the Russian zone. The American zone has a large percentage of Catholics, since it includes Bavaria; but the British zone, though it contains strong Catholic regions such as the Ruhr and Rhineland and Westphalia, has also areas where formerly there were very few Catholics and which are naturally ill-provided with Catholic churches, convents and schools; the Russian zone is still less Catholic in composition and tradition. These figures alone show what immense problems are confronting the Church authorities in post-war Germany, among them the problem of providing in the British and Russian zones for three million Catholics in what till recently were lands of the Diaspora, with the exceptions already noted of the West German provinces of Westphalia, Ruhr and Rhineland. Much is being done, but there is the inevitable

shortage—shortage of material, shortage of men. Among features of this novel situation that deserve recording are : first, the training of men and women to work as catechists and teachers and generally to assist the clergy in these scattered regions ; secondly, the frequent use by Catholics for their Masses and services of Protestant churches with Protestant permission.

VI

To return to Berlin. The situation of Catholics in Berlin bears a close parallel to that of Catholics in England and Wales during the past hundred years. To begin with, the proportion is roughly the same. Berlin has maybe 300,000 Catholics out of a population of four millions ; there may well be three and a half million Catholics in England and Wales out of forty-eight million. The Berlin Catholics were, at first, a very foreign element ; there were scarcely any native Catholics. And it was only in 1929 that the Prussian authorities permitted the Catholics in Berlin to have a bishop. It might be expected—and indeed this is the case—that Berlin Catholics would have developed the resistance spirit which is well known in England.

Materially, the Church in Berlin has suffered severely because of the war. Fifteen churches and seventeen chapels were totally destroyed in the city itself ; thirty-two churches and eighteen chapels were severely damaged, while thirty churches and chapels remained untouched. In the whole diocese of Berlin fourteen per cent. of its churches and chapels were completely ruined ; twenty-five per cent. were heavily damaged and fifty-two per cent. slightly damaged ; only nine per cent. remained unscarred. (These figures are taken from the official periodical of the diocese, the *Petrusblatt*, for 29 August 1948). So much for destruction.

On the constructive side, by summer 1948, fifty-one churches and chapels had been repaired or replaced, while seventeen emergency churches had been opened. To this number must be added a large contingent of Lutheran churches in which Catholics are permitted to say Mass, and school and hotel rooms which are used on Sunday morning as Mass centres.

Among Catholic organizations with which I came into close contact the *Caritasverband* shall be the first to be mentioned. This is the well-known Catholic national society for relief work of many kinds ; it maintains hospitals and convalescent homes, institutes both for old folk and for children, as well as holiday camps and travelling ambulances. Its headquarters are in Freiburg im Breisgau, from which it works through the occupied French zone. It has now three other subsidiary headquarters, one for each of the other three zones : Cologne Hohenlind for the British zone, Munich for the American, and Berlin for the Russian area. I spent two half days at the Berlin offices and was able to gain a clear impression

of the work being done in Eastern Germany. Difficulties are formidable; the need is far more urgent than in the West, but the Berlin directors of *Caritas* assured me, and begged me to pass on this assurance, that relief parcels sent from outside to the Russian zone of Germany did reach the persons to whom they were addressed as did material for Catholic churches. They told me of instances where local officials had interfered with this delivery or had confiscated parcels; but every time, on appeal to the Russian *Kommendatura*, the local officials were compelled to disgorge.

Conditions naturally vary, according to *Caritas* information, through the Russian zone. In Sachsen Anhalt and Mecklenburg they are better than elsewhere because the areas are mainly agricultural. But even here they are grim; there is an acute shortage of linen, textiles and furniture. In Sachsen Anhalt the number of Catholics has risen steeply from 135,000 to 750,000. The Saxony situation is more precarious. Eighty to ninety per cent. of the industrial production is sent abroad; food is scarce, more so even than in 1946; the death rate is high, but doctors are not permitted to mention the chief reason for so many early deaths and for several outbreaks of disease, namely undernourishment.

One burning problem in the zone is that of the youth, which is now organized into the *Junge Pioniere* who in time become the *Freie Deutsche Jugend*—the *Free German Youth*, the chief characteristics of which are negative, to wit that it is neither *German* nor *free*. Positively, the movement is Communist controlled; it appeals to youth by its provision of sport and games as the framework within which to indoctrinate. Its extent may be seen from these figures: in 1949 there were 903,000 members of the *Freie Deutsche Jugend* and 780,000 *Junge Pioniere*. Close observers of these organizations speak with grave misgivings of the effects upon the youth morality of their promiscuity and their frankly materialistic outlook and upon the loosening of the family framework which these organizations are designed to bring about. It is impossible to speak of Catholic youth activity in Russian zone. There are many faithful young Catholics who resist the pressure put upon them to enter these official movements, and doubtless many within the movements loathe their spirit even while they submit to their necessity and take advantage of their games and feasts. Indeed, it is doubtful whether as yet this high-powered Soviet propaganda has fashioned a new type of Communist youth in Eastern Germany, but with each month and year the danger grows, particularly when one remembers that in this region of Germany the religious forces, apart from the relatively small number of Catholics, were neither vigorous nor deeply rooted.

I was impressed by the activity of another, and this time a local, Catholic activity, that of the *Katholisches Bildungswerk Berlin*, a scheme for Catholic Adult Education. Lectures are organized for a general Catholic public on various aspects of Catholic thought, experience and life: on theology, for instance, moral, ascetic and dogmatic; on Christian art and the

history of art; on liturgy and on the law of Church and State. There are three programmes in the year: winter to spring; spring into summer; and through autumn as far as Christmas. The programme for mid 1949 opened with a quotation from Langbehn: "*Die Einheit der Seele und die Einheit der Bildung entspringen der gleichen Wurzel: die Einheit Gottes*" (The Unity of the soul and the Unity of culture spring from the same root: the Unity of God), and here is their justification of the effort. The programme contained lectures on the following among many other subjects: "The Eight Beatitudes", "The Struggle for the Freedom of Belief in modern Church history", "The New Man: a dogmatic review of St. Paul's epistle to the Ephesians", "The *Christusbild* in the New Testament", "The Religious Psychology of Romano Guardini"; every now and then one detected modern themes such as "Christ and the Problems and Claims of our time" and "The Attitude of the Christian to-day". The lectures are organized in different parish halls throughout the city and in all four zones, including that of the Russians.

VII

Our final word shall be kept for the school situation. To me it was a shock to discover, only a mile or two away from the front line of Western defence, with the hordes of militant materialism massed to the other side, that no religious teaching should be given in the official Berlin schools. This is in part the consequence of an agreement by the Allied Powers and in part the result of the German Socialist government in the city. It reflects grimly the muddled European mentality of the present time and the doubts and uncertainties of far too many Europeans in face of the Eastern menace. The decline of European Socialism does not seem to have shown the European Socialists that their doctrines are out of date and that it is the Communists who are now the logical and effective Marxists. To think that you can oppose to the major Marxism of the Bolsheviks a minor Marxism of Continental Socialism and thereby defend in some mysterious manner the heritage of European democracy and culture is a delusion which, in days as serious as are our own, falls little short of insanity. Yet the antiquated clichés are being uttered, the cobwebbed panaceas advertised with a hollow emptiness at the centre of Continental Socialism that deprives it of all vitality or realism.

To-day religious instruction may not be given in the Berlin schools, at least as part of the ordinary curriculum. Some may be given outside of school hours, but in certain instances it has been decreed that this instruction is not to be held within two hours either way of the school period—out of tender solicitude for the children, lest they become too tired. The Catholics in Berlin are attempting to remedy the situation by establishing private schools of their own in place of the regular *Volksschulen;* by

November 1949, they had seven such schools—a slight beginning. Here it should be added that in the greater part of the British zone the more normal school system has been reestablished, namely that Catholic children go to Catholic schools and Lutheran children to Lutheran schools : this was the traditional system, which the Nazis abolished after 1933, but which both Catholic and Lutheran parents now wish for with an overwhelming majority and which has at last, though not without certain delays and difficulties, been generally restored.

To what extent Catholic enterprise and courage can succeed may be judged from the story of the Jesuit college in Berlin. Prior to the 1914–1918 war the Jesuits had no school in Berlin at all. After 1918 they gradually returned. In 1921 the original parish of the *Herz Jesu Kirche* in West Berlin had a portion detached from it ; this became the new parish of St. Peter Canisius and was to be administered by the Society of Jesus. A plan was soon conceived to provide a Catholic school—a *humanistisches Gymnasium*, that was eventually to blossom into a full-time classical grammar school, with nine years of Latin studies and six years of the Greek. One hundred boys were ready to enter the proposed school in 1923. Permission from the local authorities was delayed until 1925. But then the school was inaugurated at Easter, with two classes, the " Sixth " or lowest form, consisting of a total of seventy-one pupils. Year by year, two further classes were introduced at the foot of the school ; each year the school grew upwards. In six years' time there were as many as two hundred and fifty applications for entry into the two new bottom classes.

It was not until 1934 that the school assumed its complete structure and was able to pass the students of the *Ober Prima* class through the final *Abitur* examination. It retained this full stature for only two years. In 1936, the Nazi Ministry of Education decreed that from Easter 1937 the college must reverse the process and grow this time downwards, losing classes each year and forbidden to accept new pupils : in addition, the top boys were drafted to other schools.

By 1940, there were students only for classes four and five. Then came another ukase. The school must shut. The last Mass was sung in the school chapel, in the presence of the bishop, now Cardinal von Preysing. The bishop preached. The organ pealed for the last time in the rhythm of the *Te Deum*. The Jesuit college in the Neue Kantstrasse, which had been known as the *Gymnasium am Lietzensee* was no more. Teachers and students were dispersed. The buildings remained unoccupied ; in raid after raid over Berlin they were destroyed.

It says much for the apostolic enterprise of the Berlin Jesuits that thirty days after the fall of the city they once again inaugurated the college. True, in bits and pieces, with classes in various centres as far removed from one another as Neukolln, Wedding and the Yorckstrasse. On the feast of St. Ignatius 1945, the boys met together for the first time at a

solemn Mass ; after the summer all the classes were gathered together in the *Gesellenhaus* of St. Clement's. Nine classes were huddled there, with three hundred boys.

1947 brought new hopes and practical possibilities. The Jesuit fathers secured the former Krupp buildings in the Tiergartenstrasse ; these had served as the Krupp Berlin headquarters where directors met and held policy discussions. The buildings were severely damaged : roofs had been burnt away, windows were smashed, ceilings were down. On 12 May 1947 the headmaster, Father Heinrich Klein, appealed to boys and their parents and to college friends for *voluntary labour ;* and the labour was forthcoming. Volunteers put the buildings into shape ; the boys cleared away immense heaps of rubble and blocks of masonry and then constructed a rough and ready playground. In October 1947 the school was functioning in the Tiergartenstrasse with 495 pupils.

Since then, during the past three years, this number has grown to more than eight hundred, and could be increased to-morrow into the four figure category, were there but accommodation. The changing conditions of Berlin have reflected themselves—this I learnt from the masters—in the attitude and problems of the boys. In the first two years after 1945 the boys were concerned with sheer existence ; it was a question whether they would find enough to eat—sufficient to keep them going. From this pre-occupation work naturally suffered ; there was an acute shortage too of books, stationery and equipment. Even to-day science equipment is of the scantiest. However, from 1947 the staff noticed a significant change. The boys were no longer so pre-occupied, except maybe during the abnormal blockade of 1948–49 ; they turned more seriously to study. The masters found them in general more serious than before the war and far less inclined to fritter away their time in empty and unreal discussions. This Jesuit college is, at present, the only *humanistisches Gymnasium* in all Berlin —that is the only school that provides a full classical education in the old humanities.

I left Berlin soon after ten o'clock one night, and shortly afterwards the train halted for a moment at the station of Wannsee. We were about to cross into the Russian zone. I was leaving a city, the fate of which is all important in our tense world of ideas and policies. Whatever the shortcomings of the Berliners, whatever the crudities of their past, they have displayed in their adversity since 1945 a liveliness, a vigour and a sense of political realities that are admirable and must compel the sympathies and the support of the freer world.

JOHN MURRAY, S.J.

HISTORIC GALWAY CONVENTS

BY SENATOR HELENA CONCANNON, M.A., D.LITT.

II.—The Dominican Nuns *

IT is part of the strange story of the Irish race that the oldest existing Irish convent in the world today is in a foreign land. It is the celebrated Dominican Convent of *Bom Successo*, near Lisbon, which Friar Dominic of the Rosary O'Daly founded in 1639 for Irish girls eager to embrace the religious life. It would appear from the story of one of these girls, Eleanor Burke (daughter of the martyred Sir John Burke of Brittas), that after the suppression of the monasteries a good many pious girls lived very austere and prayerful lives in their own homes as Dominican or Franciscan Tertiaries. There must have been a number of such girls in Galway, and when the early victories of the confederate forces made it possible Father Gregory French established a convent for them in his and their native city in 1643. To that date goes back the history of our Galway Dominican Nuns, now labouring fruitfully for God and Ireland in their lovely Convent which, from the woods and heights of Taylor's Hill, looks down on the shining waters of Galway Bay.

I

The Poor Clares had come to Galway from Athlone the previous year (1642), and it is from these two Galway Convents that all the Dominican and (prior to 1893) Poor Clare Convents in Ireland trace their descent. It is one of the things for which Galway has best reason to feel proud, that at a time when there was no Convent in any other part of Ireland there were Convents within her walls ; and thus was the " seed of fire " preserved which burns so brightly in our land today.

At a Chapter of the Irish Dominican Province held in Kilkenny (then the seat of the Government) in 1643 the Galway foundation was formally approved, and the approbation was ratified by the Dominican Master General the following year. Our Dominican Sisters therefore recognise the latter year (1644) as that of their legal foundation. Three years later (1647) the Nuncio Apostolic, Rinuccini, came to Galway and, having satisfied himself as to " the means for their decent support," he confirmed the foundation by Apostolic Authority " willingly yielding to the petition addressed to Us by you, living together, as you have been, for the last three years, under the sweet yoke of Religion and in observance of the Rule of the Sisters of St. Dominic". His Excellency erected " the house you now inhabit, and whatever house you may in course of time inhabit, into a Monastery under the title *Jesu Mariae* with cloister according to the

* For Part I, The Poor Clares, see last (December) issue.

manner and form which shall be approved by your local Superiors". Having expressed his confidence in the zeal and piety of Fr. Gregory French the Nuncio confirmed him in his office " as lawful superior and perpetual vicar and, as far as may be needful, We appoint him to this work so that he cannot be transferred to any other against his will. But henceforth the ordinary appointment of a Vicar is to be made by the majority of the Fathers of the Provincial Chapter and in no other manner."

A little later the Nuncio wrote to the Community asking them to set aside a special day of prayer each month, whereon they should receive Holy Communion and recite the Rosary for the success of the Catholic Army and the extirpation of heresy in our land. Three hundred and three years have gone by since Rinuccini laid that obligation on the Dominican Nuns of Galway, and today it is still faithfully being fulfilled.

Where was this first house of the Dominicanesses in Galway situated? To answer this question we turn again to the seventeenth-century Map of Galway and find it marked in what was called New Tower Street, near the Carmelite Convent. In this Monastery strict enclosure was established in the year of the Nuncio's visitation, " though the church had not yet been built nor the house arranged in conventual form".

From O'Heyne, de Burgo and others we learn some interesting facts concerning the original members of this exemplary community. Among the first to enter was Sister Mary of St. Thomas Lynch (daughter of Andrew Lynch and Anne Joyce) who received the habit on 6 August 1644 and was professed on 13 August 1645. Two years later a very remarkable Galway girl entered in the person of Juliana Nolan. She had been married to a well-to-do young Galway merchant of the same surname; but after a year they separated by mutual consent and he became a Dominican priest, while she seems to have become a Dominican Tertiary, for O'Heyne (who knew her so well and has such boundless admiration for her) tells us that the husband died in 1638, while he speaks of her as " having taken the habit of our Order " earlier than that date and thus long before the establishment of the convent in the history of which she was destined to play so notable a part. Other nuns of this first foundation were Sister Mary O'Halloran, Sister Mary Blake, Sister Mary French and Sister Mary Lynch.

II

They had risen to the number of fourteen when the Curse of Cromwell fell on Galway, as on the rest of Ireland, and drove them from their quiet convent into exile in Spain, whither they were escorted by the faithful Father Gregory French[1]. On arrival in that great Catholic land they were received in various Dominican Convents, notably in Bilbao, Toledo,

[1] Father Ambrose Coleman attributes this rôle to Father Gregory O'Farrell, ex-Provincial.

Zamora and Valladolid. How it must have added to the heartbreak of their exile that they were thus separated.

They educated their girls well in the Galway of that period ; and we of today must be proud of the impression our Dominican nuns made in the various Spanish convents where they had found refuge. Like Mother Bonaventure Browne of the Poor Clares many of them were " prudent, wise and well spoken in English, Irish and Spanish". Indeed of one of them, Mother Mary O'Halloran, it is said that she had a more accurate acquaintance with the Spanish language than the Spaniards themselves. Both she and Mother Mary Lynch taught in the schools attached to their Convents, as did Mother O'Halloran in Zamora and Mother Lynch in Bilbao.

For Mother O'Halloran in particular, O'Heyne, who knew her well, had enthusiastic admiration : " One very well known to me lived in the Convent of B.V.M. de las Duennas at Zamora and was called Mother Maria O'Halloran. I can assert without exaggeration that I never knew a woman of stronger intellect. She had a more accurate acquaintance with the Spanish tongue than the Spaniards themselves, and was well versed in sacred and secular history. She was generally porteress, and Father Peter Moral, then Prior at Zamora, used to seek her advice about the affairs of the nuns. One day when I was with him he was urging her to work for the election of a cousin of the Bishop of Zamora as prioress, for the election was imminent and this Irishwoman could bring all the nuns to her own views. The nun in question was called Mother Maria de Montes, and after the Prior had exhausted his praises of her the Irish Sister drily observed : ' Father Prior, tange montes et fumabunt.' On his way back that great and scholarly man observed to me that he had never met a woman with such a penetrating mind—' and I know,' he added, ' that she is deeply religious and virtuous.' "

They were all without exception noted for their sanctity. Mother Blake who died in Toledo and was remarkable for her great beauty was revered as a saint, as was Mother Maria French in the Convent of Valladolid and the two nuns who had been received into the Dominican Convent in Bilbao, Mother Maria Lynch and Mother Juliana Nolan. These were destined, after thirty years of exile, to come back to their native City and restore the Dominican Convent there after the accession to the throne of a Catholic King, James II, had made it possible.

III

This happened in 1686, when Mother Juliana was about seventy five years of age and Mother Lynch not much younger. There was probably (as before the original foundation) a little group of Tertiaries waiting for them. A touching indication of this came to light some years ago. Their

descendants in Taylor's Hill treasure with jealous care the richly wrought vestments which have come down to them from these their " ancient Mothers". A Sister, noted for her artistry and skill with the needle, one day set about mending one of them, a very old chalice veil. She noticed, tucked into one of the ' bosses,' a scrap of paper, yellow with age, and spreading it out discovered that it was a copy of one of the most beautiful Eucharistic prayers of St. Thomas and that it was signed " Brigit Kirwan, Galway the 5th November 1682". With Brigit Kirwan and other girls Mother Juliana Nolan and Mother Maria Lynch, recalled from their Bilbao Convent, refounded the Galway Dominican Convent in 1686.

Of Mother Juliana Nolan, the second foundress, O'Heyne writes : " I saw her in Bilbao when I entered Spain for my studies and also when returning after their completion ; and many things about her did the Mother Prioress of that House let me know which I leave for a fuller telling if the good God gives me life and opportunity. She went to Ireland at the request of the Provincial (Father John Browne, O.P.) and Definitors to reestablish the convent of the nuns in Galway. Her natural inclination would have been to remain in Spain, for she feared it might not be possible to keep to the strict observance of the Rule in Ireland owing to the interference of the heretics. But knowing that obedience is better than sacrifice, an earnest desire of serving the Order induced her to commit herself to the dangers of the long voyage and, Jesus Christ giving a favourable wind, she arrived at Galway in eight days with her companion (Mother Maria Lynch) and two of our fathers."

O'Heyne goes on to tell of the joy of the Galwegians at their arrival and how a house was fitted up for them " favourable to solitary and religious life, where the Prioress at once received a number of young girls and educated them with the utmost care in the greatest piety. For the Divine Office was as exactly fulfilled in this little convent, just beginning, as if it had been erected for years. Indeed, as the numbers increased, they rose for Midnight Matins both in Advent and Lent." The certificate of the first Profession is still preserved in the Taylor's Hill Archives. It is that of Sister Agnes of St. John Evangelist Browne, and it bears Mother Juliana's signature.

IV

Alas, with the triumph of the Williamite army this happy period of religious growth soon came to an end. In 1698 the Parliament in Dublin passed a law exiling all bishops and religious. On May day of that year the Convent of our Galway Dominican Nuns was raided by the soldiery, their grille smashed and the Sisters compelled to wear secular dress. The Fathers of the Dominican Community in that city had been among the first banished from their native soil, and the poor nuns, thus deprived of their confessor and chaplain, were left without Mass one Sunday.

Father O'Heyne, then attached to the Athenry Community, who was in the country helping the parochial clergy with the " Stations," hastened at once to Galway and ministered to the nuns until he himself was obliged to leave the country. He was greatly edified by what he saw with his own eyes and what he heard from Mother Juliana on this occasion. Though the Clausura was broken, not one of the young Sisters even thought of leaving the Convent, and the Prioress was as punctually obeyed and saw the Rule as carefully followed as if they were in a peaceful, continental convent under normal conditions.

Mother Juliana at first thought of bringing her little flock to France, but was dissuaded from this course by Father O'Heyne. They stayed on in their convent in secular dress and when their heroic Vicar, Father Gregory French, and Father Nicholas Blake returned to Galway (disguised as Aran fishermen), they had the benefit of their ministrations. In 1701 Mother Juliana Nolan died (aged nearly ninety) and was succeeded as Prioress by her faithful companion of so many years, Mother Maria Lynch. The latter was still in office when O'Heyne wrote his *Epilogus Chronologicus* (1706), and it is surprising to learn that " from 1701 entries of Profession in the Register are numerous, as if the Community flourished most when the penal laws were doing their worst".[1]

In general the Authorities shut their eyes to the nuns' existence, but from time to time the clamour of the bigots forced them to raid the Convent. This happened in 1708 and again in 1715 and 1731. In the " State Papers " of the last-named year we have an account of what the raiders found in their search. This is interesting as showing that the nuns at the time had lady boarders and young girls for their education.

In 1717 Galway Dominican nuns had the honour to send forth a colony to Dublin at the invitation of the Archbishop Most Rev. Dr. Byrne. The pioneers, six in number, arrived there in March and established themselves for a time in a temporary Convent in Fishers' Row, whence they changed over to the former Benedictine Convent in Channel Row (now North Brunswick Street), recently vacated by the Poor Clares. Here they were destined to remain for nearly a century. In 1808 the Channel Row Community moved to Clontarf, and in 1819 to its present home in Cabra. From Cabra and its daughters have proceeded all the Dominican Convents established in Ireland since that date.

At the time the six nuns of the Dublin foundation[2] left Galway two young religious, kinswomen of the Martyr Blessed Oliver Plunkett, Sisters Mary and Catherine Plunkett, set forth from Galway for the Convent of the English Dominican Nuns in Brussels (afterwards known as " the Pelican," a corruption of " the Spellenkenhuys from the pin factory in its

[1] From an article entitled " The Story of Our Convent " in *The Western Wind.*

[2] Maria Bellew (Prioress), Elizabeth Weaver, Julia Browne, Honoria Vaughan, Alicia Rice, Helena Keating.

vicinity). One of these two girls returned to her native Drogheda (with the treasure of the Martyr's head in her possession) to found, in 1722, the famous Dominican Convent Siena Drogheda.

V

In Galway itself the Community, established in what was long known as the Slate Nunnery in Cross Street, went its quiet way in peaceful practice of the Rule. In 1756 the nuns were visited by Bishop de Burgo, then in search of materials for his magnum opus, *Hibernia Dominicana*. He seems to have found the community flourishing for it had thirty-one members, and all the best families in Galway and Connacht were in the list: Lynches, Blakes, Darcys, Brownes, Bodkins, O'Kellys, Kirwans, Frenches, Joyces, Nolans, Vaughans etc.

As the years went on, however, the numbers gradually diminished and their resources grew very meagre. In 1826 there were but eight or nine in the Community and their total income was £250. A pathetic entry in the account books (still preserved in Taylor's Hill) shows the penury to which the poor nuns had been reduced: "June 22nd, 1830. Received by the sale of Sister Staunton's bed and blanket the sum of £3 8s., which sum was given to Honoria the cook in part payment of her wages." And still, in spite of poverty and lessened numbers, the Dominican Nuns of Galway "stuck to the ship" and never omitted the Divine Office. "It is worthy of note" writes Father Ambrose Coleman "that during all the vicissitudes of the penal times the Galway Community never abandoned the canonical recitation of the Divine Office nor even sought for a dispensation from this obligation."

Such courage and steadfastness brought at length their reward. In 1841 the Provincial, Father Harold, authorised the nuns to resume the habit, and four years later (1845) they were able to leave the old Slate Nunnery in crowded Cross Street for a lovely situation on Taylor's Hill. There were then only seven in the Community, so the small house which first received them was not inadequate, and the surrounding fields were a welcome relief from the congestion of the city's streets and gave them assurance of fresh air and privacy. Here they did their part for the poor victims of the Famine which had Galway in thrall (with the rest of Ireland) in Black Forty-Seven. They set up a kitchen for its starving victims and not only fed and clothed the numerous orphans and taught them useful crafts but established an elementary school for their education.

All this time the poor nuns were suffering want themselves and they seemed in danger of extinction when God inspired one of their advisers to propose the establishment of a secondary school. As none of the Community had any experience in this field, the Provincial, Father Russell, arranged for a 'loan' of two very experienced teachers and organisers from the Siena Convent, Drogheda, and Mother Josepha O'Halloran and

Mother Hyacinth McAuliffe came to them in 1857. On the birthday of our Blessed Lady 1858 the Day School opened with two students; but the numbers rapidly grew and there were thirty in the Day School when on Mayday 1859 the Boarding School was begun to bring the blessing of Catholic higher education to innumerable fortunate girls whose numbers increased and continued to increase with every succeeding generation.

" The roots of Taylor's Hill lie deep " writes one who has contributed more than her share to make them produce their finest and most abundant fruits, " They are fast fixed in the rich soil of Dominican Rule and tradition, a rule which regulated and fostered the intellectual powers of an Albert the Great and a St. Thomas and fed the zeal of a Vincent Ferrer and a Peter Martyr. The Convent is a temple guarding and enshrining the great idea that was committed to St. Dominic—the illumination and salvation of souls by doctrine and preaching. The weapons which the Champion of Christ placed in the hands of his disciples when he would combat the heresy of the Albigenses were presented to the Dominican Nuns of Galway when his Order accepted them as a constituent of its corporate existence. Circumstances have for a time precluded the Community from exercising the function of teaching, but no power has ever freed it from the obligation of labour for souls by its prayers and sacrifices. And so its consecrated life, its monastic observance and its solemn celebration of the Divine Office have continued a plea without intermission for the exaltation of Christ's standard in the Kingdom of men's hearts."[1]

HELENA CONCANNON

[1] In " The Story of Our Convent " published in *The Western Wind* (Year Book of the Dominican Convent, Taylor's Hill, Galway) Vol. I, No. 1. This article (based on the Convent's Archives) as well as Father Ambrose Coleman's valuable annotated edition of O'Heyne's *Irish Dominicans of the Seventeenth Century* and de Burgo's *Hibernia Dominicana* are the sources for the foregoing sketch.

APOSTOLUS APOSTOLORUM

FATHER MICHAEL BROWNE, S.J.*

BY ALFRED O'RAHILLY
President, University College, Cork

READING Prof. Butterfield's *Christianity and History* a little while ago, I was struck by the following unusual observation :—

> The ordinary historian, when he comes to the year 1800, does not think to point out to his readers that in this year, still as in so many previous years, thousands and thousands of priests and ministers were preaching the Gospel week in and week out, constantly reminding the farmer and the shopkeeper of charity and humility, persuading them to think for a moment about the great issues of life and inducing them to confess their sins.

These deeper influences are beyond the domain of the chronicler; they are continuous and intangible, hidden and uneventful. Looking back on my own life, only now do I fully appreciate all I owe to the ministration and the teaching of so many, unknown to history, who gave up their lives to hand on the Christian message. And to none more than to the subject of the present biography do I owe so much for teaching me by word and example what the personal love of Our Lord should mean in one's life.

Fr. Hurley's book is therefore more significant to me than to the general reader who never came under the influence of Father Michael Browne. For, as biographies go, there is nothing grandiose or romantic to record. Even the good Jesuit's inner life has to be guessed at from his correspondence and the opinions of contemporaries. For he destroyed his spiritual notes and diaries—largely, I am afraid, owing to my biography of Fr. W. Doyle. In any case, his greatest work was done inside the quiet powerhouse of the Lord. He was literally the servant of the servants of God, the apostle of apostles. Through the novices he trained, the scholastics he directed, the priests and the nuns to whom he gave retreats, his influence, real though unseen, has radiated through the country. Thousands are better Catholics because Michael Browne lived, though they never have heard of him.

There will always be some difference of opinion concerning those two very diverse men, Fr. M. Browne and Fr. W. Doyle, as to whether they were "typical Jesuits". There was controversy over my life of the latter. That great theologian Fr. Peter Finlay did not think highly of Fr. Doyle. So in a later edition I made what I consider a pretty good

* *Father Michael Browne, S.J.* (1853-1933): *A Man who took Christ at His Word.* By Thomas Hurley, S.J. Dublin: Clonmore & Reynolds. 1949. Pages 242. Price 12/6.

defence. It was really a plea for elbow-room. For I think that the typical Jesuit is as mythical as the average man. St. Ignatius, whose external rule is relatively light, founded a Company which, in spite of fictional caricatures, allows the coexistence of diversified types. It would be as difficult to imagine a whole Province of Michael Brownes as to picture a Transport Union of Matt Talbots ! A saint is not a machine-product indefinitely reproducible. He is a specialist, and therefore in a sense one-sided. I was under Fr. Browne for two years ; after that I knew him only by some correspondence which I treasure. But I am emboldened to add some remarks, because Fr. Hurley, abandoning the old hagiographic method of wearisomely cataloguing virtues, has included some criticisms by fellow-Jesuits. Some of these found him impersonal in his relations with others. Not that he was not kind and helpful to those in need or in trouble. But somehow one felt that he lived in a celestial stratosphere, that others were a transparent veil through which he saw and served God. That is the penalty of tremendous absorption in the transcendental, such a contrast to us ordinary folk who are immersed in the ephemeral. To me, until I read Fr. Hurley's book, Fr. Browne seemed a Melchisedek, without father or mother, devoid of earthly ties. I was always secretly delighted to discover in him some human touches : a little flash of quickly repented temper, an occasional obstinacy on some point, sometimes irritability due to want of sleep.

There have been debates among Fr. Browne's brethren concerning his asceticism. He had indeed none of the reckless bouts of Fr. Doyle, but he certainly was continuously hard on brother ass. When sitting under the trees, the novices used to watch the unmolested midges biting his face. I must add that he always held out much longer than I did before he smacked the offender ! But with youngsters absorbed in this stunt, conversation was rather difficult. He used to come in to late breakfast and gather all the crusts for himself. When I was serving, I took great pleasure in first removing the scraps ! I still have the rosary-beads whose medal I used to dip in the remains of the black tea he used to drink. Therein lies the possible objection. His extreme asceticism, as regards food and penance, was displayed to a set of fervent and impressionable young men, who proceeded to engage in mechanical imitation. It was useless to curb this by weighing a certain quantity of bread and ordering a novice to take that amount. This short-term prescription of obedience does not train ; it does not inculcate general principles capable of serving throughout life. There appears therefore, if I may humbly say it, a certain amount of justification for criticism—at least as regards Fr. Browne's first period of office as Master of Novices.

The suggestion that he allowed pseudo-mysticism is, however, contrary to my experience. He once told me to collect and bring to him any books about Bl. Grignion de Montfort, which were causing scruples concerning

a vow of servitude to Mary. To the best of my recollection, no books on mysticism were available; the novices had no means of acquiring a jargon beyond their capacity. Rodriguez—in execrable English—was the strong meat provided, very tough indeed for juvenile digestion! Fr. Browne laid great stress on studying the Life of Our Lord. And it is largely owing to his inspiration that I am now engaged in a project of Gospel Studies. He encouraged particularly the reading of Abbé Fouard's *Life of Christ*. He also, rightly in my opinion, recommended the *Meditations on the Life of Christ* by St. Bonaventure. (This work is really by a thirteenth century Franciscan called Joannes de Caulibus.) I know that learned exegetes despise such a work. But it has had enormous influence on devotion and on art; it was translated into every European language. What it did for the men of old, what it did for us, was to bring home the fact that Christ's life is not a mere piece of past history but a drama in which in a real sense we can intervene as did St. Francis with his crib at Greccio. There must be hundreds whose lives have been thus inspired by the living voice of Fr. Michael Browne.

I was rather astonished to discover that in his young days he was a pupil of Casey and that he had a taste for mathematics and physics. Well, one would never have guessed it! I doubt if he had great intellectual interests or ability. It was the man that counted. I do not even think that he had much style. He had notebooks (which he once showed to me) with tag-ends of quotations and thoughts for use in talks and sermons. He would not have written a readable spiritual book. He was a man to be heard, not read. You could not distil his personality into the printed word. Only those who lived with him or heard him can properly appreciate his greatness and his influence. He was the most saintly personality I have known. It is an honour to me to be allowed not only to thank Father Hurley for his labour of love in compiling this book, but also publicly to pay my own tribute of gratitude to this great Jesuit who sowed in so many hearts seeds that are still producing a harvest for the Master.

ALFRED O'RAHILLY

WAS JOHN KEOGH AN INFORMER?

BY FRANCIS FINEGAN, S.J.

CONSIDERING his place in Irish history as the forerunner of Daniel O'Connell in the struggle for Catholic emancipation, it is remarkable that a biography of John Keogh has yet to be written. It is now over sixty years since the historian William Fitzpatrick deplored the absence of such a biography, and still our knowledge of Keogh is derived only from scattered sources that vary in admiration, neutrality or open hostility. This study of Keogh will deal with only one aspect of his life : was he an informer, as charged in a recent Life of Robert Emmet. Miss Helen Landreth in her book *The Pursuit of Robert Emmet*[1] makes the following statements (pp. 131—132) :—

I

Soon after Emmet reached Dublin, he was invited to dinner at the home of a man who still posed as a patriot, though he had long been in receipt of a secret-service annuity, paid in the most furtive manner. This was Mr. John Keogh of Mount Jerome, the wealthy silk merchant who had been derided in the House of Commons in 1792 for advocating Catholic emancipation. He had been one of the prime movers in that cause for many years, and he and his sons had also been concerned somewhat less publicly with the United Irishmen. Young Cornelius Keogh had been at Trinity with Emmet and had also associated with him in Paris, when he, too, had been an exile for a time.

All this would make it appear quite natural for the Keoghs to entertain Robert Emmet on his return to Ireland. John Philpot Curran, the famous orator and defender of many United Irishmen, was also a guest at the dinner. Emmet must have thought the company entirely sympathetic ; for, when Keogh skilfully turned the conversation to the possibility of a new rising, he spoke freely and with optimism.

" How many counties did he think might be engaged ? " Keogh prodded. " Nineteen," Robert answered explicitly, but he thought an attempt could be made with even less. Curran thought that two dependable counties would make the matter possible.

Keogh later arranged another dinner at which Emmet, Curran, and James Ryan, a wealthy young man known as the Duke of Marlborough because he lived on Marlborough Street, Dublin, were to be the sole guests. In some way, Keogh's letter to Ryan, saying that he had gone to Milltown to prevail upon R.E. to attend, found its way to the Castle. It is quite possible that Ryan was one of the wealthy and influential men who urged Emmet to enter a new conspiracy and then deserted him at the last moment.*

---

[1] Dublin : Browne and Nolan. 1949. 21s.

* " Secret Service Money Payments include many entries of money paid to John Keogh. Receipts are in the same handwriting as a letter from John Keogh to John Ryan of Marlborough Street, which was dated from Mount Jerome. There is also at the I.S.P.O. a note from one Castle official to another asking him to send a hundred pound note in the usual manner, in a plain envelope, to Mr. Keogh at a small Dublin hotel." [This is a footnote to p. 131 of Miss Landreth's *Pursuit of Robert Emmet*.]

The " second " dinner party, at which Keogh, Emmet, Curran and Ryan met, was arranged by Keogh on " Tuesday morning " March—,'03. The letter written by Keogh, referred to by Miss Landreth, is now in the State Papers (524/153/24), but it is not dated from Mount Jerome to Marlborough Street. This is only a minor point, as the handwriting is indisputably that of John Keogh. But the statement that " Secret Service Money Payments include many entries of money paid to John Keogh " will be found to be baseless. In actual fact there are very few Secret Service receipts now preserved in the State Paper Office. The relevant destination number of these receipts is Second Series 533/233/12. In this collection a few unsavoury names like McGucken and Magan may still be read in their own handwriting. The name of John Keogh is not to be found amongst these receipts. While the indexes and calendars duly list the papers found in the package (533/233/12), they do not include the name of John Keogh. A careful consultation of the various entries of John Keogh's name in the indexes and calendars will prove equally fruitless with regard to receipts mentioned in Miss Landreth's book. This capital blunder has been accepted as proved history in various reviews. The neglect to cite the relevant destination number of the Secret Service receipts should have put reviewers on their guard in this matter of the reputation of a revered if not well known historical character. As it is, John Keogh's name is unsullied so far as the State Paper Office documents are concerned. We must look elsewhere to trace the source of the blunder.

The error of mistaken identity may possibly be traced to the Secret Service Money Book now preserved in the Royal Irish Academy. This manuscript is written in a uniform hand, so it will be labour lost to search in it for the handwriting of John Keogh. This document was published many decades ago by the late Sir John Gilbert in his book entitled *Documents Relating to Ireland*. The relevant entries may be cited here : " May 1799 Mr. Cooke for K . . . . . £50 " (p. 30) ; " Jan. 7, 1800 Mr. Cooke for K . . . . . £50 " (p. 38) ; " Oct. 30, 1801 J. Keogh per receipt £100" (p. 63). Lacking any original handwriting of the person who received these moneys, the entries do not establish John Keogh to have been an informer. The first two entries " K " might be anyone whose name begins with that letter. The third entry, " J. Keogh," similarly proves nothing. Besides what name does " J " stand for ? Miss Landreth's charge that John Keogh received money in a Dublin hotel will be examined in due course.

It is not unreasonable to suggest that someone else named John Keogh should be accounted for in connection with the receipt of Secret Service payments. The following should then be borne in mind. Keogh of Mount Jerome is never mentioned in the State Papers except in an adverse sense from the government viewpoint—as a suspected enemy. Even

Miss Landreth does not attempt to besmirch further Keogh's character after the passages already cited from her book. An examination of the State papers will reveal more than one person named Keogh whose relations with the government were such that they may have been in receipt of payment for their informations forwarded to Dublin Castle. Yet here again these names are not to be found in the package of Secret Service receipts (533/233/12). In the State Papers there are, in all, four entries of the name Keogh which relate to men who evidently corresponded with the government.

Taken in chronological order, the first, which bears the destination number 620/32/150, is dated from John Keogh of Loughlinstown, 1 October 1797. It is a letter which draws government's attention to the state of the country and asks for a proper deployment of troops. The document, however, does not contain information about any disaffected persons in particular. The second entry, 620/36/51, is a minute of an interview with a man named " Mr. Keogh of Roscommon". The subject under discussion was the United Irishmen in Connaught. The document is dated 23 March 1798. The third entry, 620/36/103, is the secret information of someone named Keogh (no christian name given) and dealing with the state of the country near Mount Shannon. The fourth and last of the Secret Informations under the name Keogh is that of John Keogh, Eccles St., Dublin (620/37/110). This John Keogh asks for protection for two men, one of Co. Dublin and the other his own tenant in Co. Kildare. The document is dated 19 May 1798. It will be noticed from the handwriting that the John Keogh of Eccles St. and the person mentioned previously as of Loughlinstown are identical. This John Keogh is a well defined person. According to Burke's Landed Gentry and Vicars' Index to the Prerogative Wills, he died in 1803. The principal branch of this Keogh family claimed a Co. Limerick origin and seems to have founded its fortunes through preferment in the Protestant Church in Co. Roscommon.

The second and third entries relating to Mount Shannon and Co. Roscommon need not detain us. It would require a fertile imagination to connect these persons with John Keogh of Mount Jerome. It is true of course that John Keogh of Mount Jerome possessed considerable property in Co. Roscommon (v. Fortescue Mss), but the name Keogh was also that of at least four families of the landed gentry of this period. There is no evidence that John Keogh of Mount Jerome ever permanently resided outside of Dublin. Whatever evidence we have of his residence (and it could not be far removed from his enormous commercial interests in Dublin) points the other way. From what has been said, it is more natural to conclude that the persons listed amongst those who sent in secret informations should first be investigated before that of John Keogh of Mount Jerome, against whom no damning evidence is forthcoming.

Other entries of the name of Keogh have manifestly nothing to do with Keogh of Mount Jerome. These deal with a man who was hanged in '98, a prisoner who turned King's evidence, etc. The State Papers which deal expressly with Keogh of Mount Jerome are never such as to stain his reputation amongst Irishmen.

II

On Thursday, 29 July 1803, just five days after Emmet's abortive rising in Dublin, Keogh's house at Mount Jerome was raided by the yeomanry and his papers seized. Keogh next day wrote to Alexander Marsden the Under-secretary (State Papers 620/65/127) :—

Mount Jerome,
29 July 1803

Sir,

Yesterday Mr. Alderman Stamer with Captain Phibbs and the College Corps searched my house, seized my private papers and caused them to be sealed with my seal and declared his intention to deposit them with Government, altho' I am not conscious that anything of which Govt. could, with truth, have received information, could warrant this proceeding; yet I freely submit to have the seals removed even in my absence, and all I desire is that, if my papers be read, they may be perused with candour and attention and returned to me as soon as Govt. shall have fully investigated and judged of their contents. I have the honour to be with the highest respect, Sir

Your most hble. servt.
John Keogh.

The seizure of Keogh's private papers, at first sight, would scarcely suggest that Keogh had in any way proved false to Robert Emmet. Only one writer of the last century was found to put a malicious interpretation on the action of the yeomanry at Mount Jerome. Madden in the third volume of his *History of the United Irishmen* has printed *in extenso* a scurrilous attack on Keogh's memory. The offending passage is cited from an article by Walter Cox, a venal hack whom Madden later discovers, from the then recently published correspondence of the Duke of Wellington, to have been in receipt of an annual pension and to have played fast and loose with both sides in 1798. How far Cox's word can be relied on regarding the seizure of Keogh's papers, in July 1803, will be manifest from a comparison of his accusation with a letter of the Viceroy Hardwicke to his brother Charles Yorke. Let us hear Cox's interpretation first :—

" I suppose you [Keogh] recollect the visit Sir William Stamer, Bart., paid you in 1803 immediately after Robert Emmet had attempted to overturn the government of the country. Sir William thought proper to revise your papers most minutely. He found amongst them a memoir of your old friend, Theobald Wolf(sic) Tone, copied with your own hand. In that memoir some mention was made of some political transactions which the Baronet thought would justify his visit to

Mount Jerome without the precise authority of the government. He carried away this paper, with many others, and delivered them at the office of Mr. Secretary Marsden, sealed with his own and your seal. Strange to relate all your papers were returned unopened, with a very complimentary assurance that the baronet had visited you without orders." (*Cox's Magazine*, 1812, p. 361 ; Madden, III, p. 331).

Madden cites this abusive statement of Cox's as a corroboration of his own very secondhand information which he states he received, through a Dr. Breen, from Mrs. Keogh—to the effect that her husband's papers were returned unopened (*loc. cit*). In view of the Viceroy's communication to his brother, we may reasonably question whether Dr. Breen correctly quoted Mrs. Keogh as stating that her husband's papers were returned uncensored. Lord Hardwicke writes :—

July 30th, 1803. Marsden had much conversation with a man of the name of Keogh, a wealthy R.C. merchant of this city. His house was searched yesterday in common with almost every other in the town for arms, and his papers were also seized. He complained of this mark of distinction, which was owing to his having been connected with the last rebellion with Emmet [N.B. Thomas Addis Emmet ; Robert Emmet was not yet discovered] and others, but admitted that the yeomen treated him with civility. The papers consisted of nothing but a correspondence with his three sons, one of whom is settled at Friburg, another in Holland and a third in Liverpool. He spoke very fully and with apparent openness to Marsden, declaring his positive belief that the Roman Catholics as a body had no knowledge or concern in the conspiracy—and admitting that in the general confusion and struggle all those who possessed any property must of course sacrifice it with that of the Protestant gentlemen, drawing from thence an argument against the probability of their being so implicated. He did not consider the plot as formidable, and considers it as having been very unskilfully managed (V.P.B. p. 314–5).

Lord Hardwicke in this letter makes it obvious that Keogh's papers were examined and that Madden's secondhand information and innuendoes may once and for all be discarded. Fitzpatrick who died nearly a decade before the publication of the Hardwicke correspondence shrewdly took issue with Madden on his biassed treatment of the episode. (SSP p. 163). It is disheartening, however, to find Madden's insinuations frequently repeated by later writers who would not wish to call Keogh's good name in question. All the evidence available in the State Papers goes to show that the government was hopelessly baffled by the suddenness of the rising under Robert Emmet's leadership. The Government was badly in need of information with regard to the origin of the rebellion. Questions raised in the Imperial Parliament were sorely in need of an answer respecting the Viceroy's government in Dublin.

III

We may take it, therefore, for granted that the government was anxious to elicit from Keogh whatever information they could on the origin of the rebellion. In any event his name is not coupled in any

sinister sense with that of Robert Emmet, so far as the Hardwicke letter goes. If Keogh therefore, on the occasion of his conversation with Marsden, had given any information as to Robert Emmet, the Viceroy Lord Hardwicke would have been informed and he would have been held by no scruples from communicating the news to his brother. The fact is that the Castle was not in possession of the overwhelming information against Emmet that is implied in Miss Landreth's book. The real Robert Emmet emerges from a study of the State Papers only in the tragic chapter of his trial. Once and for all Cox's dastardly attempt to connect John Keogh with the discovery and fate of Robert Emmet may be dismissed with the contempt which it deserves. Incidentally it may be suggested that Miss Landreth might have turned with profit from Keogh to examine whether the charge of infidelity should not be laid to the door of some of the Emmet family's own friends and acquaintances. Unofficial Papers in the State Paper Office contain a document that has not, so far as the present writer knows, received the attention of historians (Carton 31/513).

Dear Sir,

The Rev. Mr. Lewis, Curate of St. Peter's and Prebendary of Howth, now residing in Camden St. was private tutor to Mr. R. Emmet for some time immediately before he entered College and can probably prove his handwriting. I have the honour to be with the greatest respect &c.

Richard Graves. August 26/1803.

This document is described as of " The Rev. Dr. Graves". Emmet had been arrested the previous day. From a reading of the foregoing letter, the candid inquirer will again ask whether or not Emmet was the devoted victim clearly marked out by Pitt and Marsden and inexorably forced to start a rebellion. Two or three other letters of this series up to about 1809 are of the " I told you so in 1803 " type and may be of assistance to future biographers in solving the problem whether or not Emmet was betrayed into the rising. The odds against are overwhelming. In any event it will prove a needle-in-the-haystack search to connect the name of John Keogh with the band of time-servers who posed as patriots while in the paid service of the enemy. The attempt to discredit Keogh by drawing attention to the increase in his fortunes has been shown to be fantastic even by Dr. Madden himself. Possessed as Keogh was of an enormous fortune and in receipt of a large annual income from his business and landed property, he could hardly have felt the temptation to hunger after (for him) pittances like £50 now or £100 again to secure his well being. If however he should have felt the urge to acquire blood money, few were in a better position than he so to acquire it. History however tells us who came in for the spoils. The present writer prefers to regard Miss Landreth's position with regard to John Keogh as simply a blunder. a case of mistaken identity.

What of John Keogh's relations with Robert Emmet in 1803? The sources supply nothing beyond the facts set forth with regard to the invitation to dinner and the seizure of Keogh's papers following the abortive rising. The Hardwicke letter has also been noticed. It may be recalled that Keogh was now a man of sixty-three. He could hardly have been on terms of intimacy with Robert Emmet, who was only a youth of twenty-four. There is no proof that any of Keogh's sons were on terms of intimacy with Emmet. He could hardly have been the bearer of news to John Keogh with regard to his sons who were abroad at the time—in Liverpool, Holland and Friburg, as we have seen in the Hardwicke letter. Possibly he was the bearer of greetings to Keogh from the exiled United Irishmen in France. The latter must have been aware of Keogh's completely pacifist leanings and would scarcely have instructed Emmet to discuss revolution with him. So far as our knowledge of Keogh goes at this period, he was against physical force methods of solving the Irish problem. Such had been his attitude in 1798, and it is extremely unlikely that at his age and suffering as he was from chronic asthma that he would now be expected by the United Irishmen abroad to be interested in a friendly sense in a new venture of arms. The government however, though quite aware of Keogh's avowed pacifist attitude, was willing to place on record whatever information they could find against him. While we have no record of informations against Keogh in 1803, we have one such document of October of the preceding year. It is a letter from Sir George Shee to Alexander Marsden, which attempts to connect Keogh and his colleagues with possible relations with the Irish element in Paris. The destination number is 620/63/47 :—

> A gentleman whose veracity may, I think, be most implicitly relied on, gave Lord Pelham information yesterday that certain circumstances which he explained had lately produced an interview between him and some suspected persons in Ireland. That to his certain knowledge, the meetings between Keogh, Dillon the Cloth Merchant in Parliam-Street, and Broghall had lately been very frequent indeed and that the latter had set out for Paris by the North of Scotland and Hambro (sic).
>
> Whitehall, 23 October 1802. George Shee.

The foregoing does not help to establish that the government was perfectly aware of the rising to take place in Dublin the following July. It is a typical instance of the type of scare-message with which the Castle was to be inundated almost to the end of the Napoleonic regime in France. We will see later that Keogh's name was the subject of information to the government so late as 1807. For the moment we may take a brief glance over Keogh's career prior to 1803.

IV

We are not concerned in this brief study with the events leading up to the Catholic Convention of 1792 except in so far as Keogh for the first

time came into contact with Wolfe Tone. We might well recall the warning of Dr. Madden without adhering to all his conclusions in regard to Keogh: " Mr. Keogh, long previously to 1798, did not escape the penalty which all prominence in political agitation has to pay to jealousy, envy or suspicion, for its notoriety and elevation. He was suspected of infidelity to the cause of the Catholics so early as 1793, and in all probability was unjustly suspected on that occasion " (Madden, III p. 49). Tone and Keogh were never temperamentally sympathetic to one another. Keogh is admitted by all to have been a man of consummate sagacity who knew the value of words and how to use them. Tone's impulsiveness is evident on every page of the diaries. Both were members of the Dublin Society of the United Irishmen since the foundation of that body in 1791. These men first met in the Catholic Committee with the common purpose ostensibly of securing Catholic Emancipation. The achievement of the Catholic Relief Bill of 1793 is put down to the credit of both. The failure to achieve full emancipation has been put down to the discredit of Keogh. The real cause of the failure, however, was the intransigence of the bigoted Ascendancy. In any event, a quarrel between Keogh and Tone was in the making since the return of the delegates from the Court of St. James in 1793. The estrangement of Wolfe Tone and John Keogh may be said to have originated in their divergence of view as to the use of physical force in the achievement of emancipation. The various entries in Tone's diaries regarding Keogh would lead us to believe that Keogh toyed for a while with republican ideas (W.T.D. July 16; Dec. 20/1792). Keogh's correspondence with Owen O'Connor of Mount Allen proves conclusively that he was never in favour of either rebellion or republic. (OCC p. 323).

Keogh remained a member of the United Irishmen only for two years, 1791–1793. Although an avowed pacifist, he was honoured by the attentions of the government's hired spy Thomas Collins. According to this worthy, " Keogh and Drennan are the grand movers "; " John Keogh, Edward Byrne and Richard McCormick . . . . a list of such United Irishmen dangerous from their abilities;" " From the circumstances that I warned you of last night you may plainly see that Keogh is the principal performer behind the scenes, as the fellow's art is such that he does not appear amongst us but has a set of fellows to constantly attend and broach his sentiments." Collins lastly warns the Castle of the futility of attempting to get Keogh to talk. Keogh parted company with the United Irishmen in 1793.

The story of his departure will be remembered from Madden's *History of the United Irishmen*. Called on to preside at the meeting of the leaders of the Dublin United Irishmen, Keogh resented the entry of an uninvited guest who had been taken to the meeting by one of the members, and whispered to McCormick; " Dick, men's lives are not safe with fellows who would act in this manner." After a few minutes he

pleaded an engagement and left. (Madden III. p. 50). Madden of course at the time he wrote his *magnum opus* was quite unaware that Keogh, even though no treasonable utterance could be laid to his charge, was suspected by the authorities. Keogh must have been aware then two years before the United Irishmen became a treasonable body in what direction the society was heading. The temporary estrangement of Keogh and Tone continued for the next three years. Dr. Drennan, the Northern Presbyterian and an acquaintance of both men, throws some light on the matter of their differences of outlook, in a letter of 21 January, 1794: "Keogh always mentions (the Volunteers) respectfully, but the truth is that the true cause which really disunites Presbyterians and the Catholics, is that the former love the French openly and the Catholics almost to a man hate them secretly. And why? Because they have overturned the Catholic religion in that country and threaten to do it throughout the world. Now the Catholics are still more religionists than politicians and the Presbyterians are more politicians than religionists (DL. p. 182)." Drennan in another letter incidentally castigates Tone for his inconsistency in vilifying Keogh in private while praising him in public (DL. p. 180).

The failure of the last hope of emancipation in the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam the Viceroy, 25 March 1795, quickly drove the country into anarchy. Tone and Keogh were reconciled. Soon they were to part forever. Tone, in danger of arrest, resolved to begin life anew in America. The story of the leave-taking from Keogh at Mount Jerome rests solely on Tone's own testimony. He states that he was urged to proceed to France and lay the position of Ireland before the French Government. (Madden, p. 27). Who was the author of the famous "garden conversation letter"? Tone has not named the writer. Our sole authority that it was Keogh who wrote it and thus summoned Tone back from America to France a year later, is the testimony of Tone's widow. We may well pause to reconsider the very onesided information of all the story. It seems that Tone's widow overtells the story when she states that her husband became a separatist (republican) only when everything else failed and that he did not think of separation alone (Madden II. p. 170). Madden cites the interesting information of Dr. McDonnell —with which of course he does not agree—as to Tone's late conversion to republicanism. The setting is the Catholic delegation of 1793 in London:—"I found Tone quite averse and afraid of the Roman Catholic leaders having any intercourse with Pitt and his friends; and he was only so far set upon emancipation as it fell in with his ideas of reform upon the French principles . . . . . Had the Catholics then been emancipated completely, Tone saw, as I did, that it would retard or frustrate the great reform he had in view, and that the surest method of bringing that about was to keep all causes of complaint in one cluster unsatisfied"

(*op. cit*). Tone in the dock avowed that, from his earliest youth, he regarded the connexion between Ireland and Great Britain as the curse of the Irish nation. At last one begins to feel some sympathy for Keogh. The years 1793–1795 must have been for him a time between the devil and the deep sea—or between the government and Wolfe Tone.

V

Until the outbreak of the rebellion little more is heard of Keogh in the Castle correspondence. He receives honourable mention in despatches 11 March, 1795, in a letter from E. Cooke to Lord Westmoreland: " Keogh is cunning, insidious and deep " (Westmoreland letters : S.P.O.). A sneering letter follows from John Pollock on the possibility of Keogh's being returned to Parliament " as a fit and discreet burgess to fill the place of a Commissioner of the Revenue". Leonard McNally in his reports to the government in the late autumn of 1797 states that Keogh is in the secrets of the United Irishmen (now a treasonable body) with Lord Edward, Emmet, Bond, Sweetman and Jackson.

The references in Tone's diary to the arrest of Keogh have no corroboration in the State Papers. Probably enough his house was searched for his papers. It is easy to conjecture that nothing was found. At the time of his death he had burned all those letters that should to-day have helped to make the history of his times so much clearer. Who will blame him? We know for certain that he was closely watched during the great rebellion. His coachman, Christopher Tool, was examined for incriminating testimony against his master (620/37/145). The interrogation revealed the long list of his friends, United Irishmen and members of the Catholic committee. The only treasonable expression of his master that could be wrung from the unfortunate coachman was that his master expressed his sorrow at the capture of Lord Edward Fitzgerald. Did Keogh prove false to Tone on the occasion of his trial? The legend is that he slapped the door in the face of the messenger who came to solicit financial aid to pay counsel. At most it proves that Keogh was weak. But it is to be remembered that spies at this period were indulgently allowed to play the part of patriots to suit the purpose. Cox wrote sedition wholesale in 1798 to the embarrassment of the United Irishmen, while Leonard McNally published patriotic verses. The latter kissed Emmet in the dock after he had sold him to the government in advance. Keogh, if a traitor, would probably have subscribed liberally as he was well able, to the defence of Tone.

Our last source of information of Keogh before the Union of 1800, or for that matter before the eve of the Emmet rising, is the entry in the " Book of Suspects " :—" 16 April 1799. Keogh Cornelius, son of Keogh one of the Catholic Delegates sent from Ireland to his Majesty . . . said to be worth 50 or 60,000 pounds made in the Silk Mercery line.

The father was member of an Executive Committee of the United Irishmen but is said to have made his peace privately with Government. The son is going (it is said with his father's consent) to Paris to join the army, but pretends to be going to join the Archduke and to have letters for that purpose." Nothing further is known of this son of Keogh. Three years later he is certainly not in France, as can be deduced from the Hardwicke letter. There need be no mystery about the phraseology " said to have made his peace privately with Government ".

Keogh always remained an enigma to the authorities, and we shall see that long after the Emmet rising he was still a force to be feared by the government. It need not shock Irishmen of a later generation that Keogh was by no means a separatist. A further explanation of Keogh's peace with the government may well be gathered from a State Paper dated 26/sept/—. The calendar supplies 1803 as the year, but this is impossible from the contents. Dr. Wright, who is evidently mentioned, capitulated to the government and turned informer in April 1799. September 1798 fits in with the approaching French invasion :—

> Sept. 26. McMahon is in town . . too well known to be public in the day . . is at Wright's constantly after dusk . . his gang are all dispersed to meet no more till the French make a landing in force . . have all come to a determination to destroy no more coaches . . . to take passengers' money only & government papers . . . let all the rest go . . . . marked men they will murder . . . Wright knows everything doing in the Castle, believes he picks it out from the attending physician . . . Burn(sic) and Keogh liberally subscribe but take no part . . . have no doubt when the great force land of conquering Ireland . . . Keogh is then to be head Director . . . . &c (620/51/220)

The sources unfortunately throw no further light on the interpretation of the foregoing document. The information may so have been framed as to implicate Keogh. One thing is certain, Keogh would have known how to keep silence about himself and others. The record against him was, however, carefully filed.

VI

To summarise what the official sources tell us of Keogh 1791–1798, no document is forthcoming to incriminate his memory. There is no record to be found either that he gave information against his colleagues or that he received money for information given. The evidence to hand shows only that he was amply honoured by the distrust of the authorities. It is reasonable to ask what of his career in the years that followed, for the story of Secret Service money paid in " a small Dublin hotel," as told by Miss Landreth, belongs to 27 November 1807. The only significance to be attached to the document is that it is the only paper to be found that bears the name of a Keogh who received £100.

My dear Sir,

I have this moment received the enclosed from Sir A. Wellesley with a request that £100 may be put into it and that, after sealing it, you would have the goodness to deliver it as before.

Ever yours, my Dear Sir
Ja's Trail.

Wm. Taylor, Esq.
November 27, 1807. (Keogh, Munster Hotel).

The name Keogh and the address are in Taylor's handwriting. Again there is no evidence as to who Keogh may be. The weight of evidence, so far as the Castle correspondence is concerned, is sufficient to acquit John Keogh of any dishonourable work. The Castle's opinion of Keogh, some months earlier, may be deduced from a letter of one William Wynne, from Whitehall, London. From the tenor of the document Wynne is not a spy but obviously an official of the government. Thus there can be no suggestion of one spy set by the government to extract information from another :

Whitehall, March 5/1807.

Private
Dear Sir,

I have today seen Dr. Wright according to Mr. Marsden's desire & have advanced him fifty pounds on the S.S. account. I cannot say that I found him very communicative upon points of real utility, as I could only learn from him that Mr. Keogh was a very mischievous man and that Ireland was reduced to the most absolute beggary and ruin by the Union. In the first piece of intelligence there is not much novelty and in the second I trust not much accuracy. He is now appointed Storekeeper of the Ordnance at Scilly and the only proposal which he has made was that we should enable him to send over a man who is now editor of a newspaper here and formerly a member of the Irish Legation to Paris who, believing that he was only employed to collect information for a newspaper, might he induced to send him over accounts of the proceedings of the Irish in France. &c &c William Wynne." (Carton 33 unsorted papers).

Ten days later, an unsigned letter complains of the pretensions of Irish Catholics in view of Buonaparte's prestige and of Keogh's audacity in demanding equal rights for his co-religionists. (*ibid*). The government at this time was constantly in receipt of alarming reports about another French invasion. Some point was given to the informations in view of the fact that Catholics were deserting wholesale after acquiring efficiency in military training. A month later, 19 April 1807, there is a lengthy report of a public speech of Keogh's in which he reiterates the same policy that he held in 1792 : equality between Catholics and other peoples of the British Empire. Official papers are silent on Keogh henceforth.

FRANCIS FINEGAN

ORIGINS OF IRISH NATIONALISM

BY DIARMUID MURTAGH, M.A.

A RECENT article upon Irish Jacobitism[1] prompts the inquiry as to how far the Irish Jacobites were animated by any nationalist outlook. At one time Sarsfield and his comrades were regarded by all good Irishmen as in the direct line of ascent from Davis, Emmet, and Tone, while the men of 1916 were deemed to be carrying on the tradition of Custume and Richard Grace. Of recent years there has been a more critical approach to some of these old warriors, and a new school has arisen which contends that they fought merely for an English King against a Dutch one in a quarrel with which Ireland had no concern. This, however, is to over-simplify the matter. We may concede that the Irish Jacobites had not the same spirit of nationalism that we find in the twentieth century. It was not to be expected ; and in estimating the aspirations of the Irish Jacobites we must be careful not to examine them through twentieth century eyes.

The first attempt at national unity was made by Hugh O'Neill. It took the form of a series of alliances with other Irish chieftains ; but if we except the remnants of the Geraldines, it included none of the great Anglo-Norman families, staunchly Catholic though most of these had remained.

The next development came half a century later, when the Confederation of Kilkenny united all the Catholics of the Kingdom together. Some attempt was made to establish a Central Administration, and eventually all the parties hostile to Cromwell were got into a nominal association. But Celt and Palesman were uneasy bedfellows. They maintained separate armies that showed almost as much disposition to fight each other as to fight the common foe.

Jacobitism was a third stage in the development of national cohesion and national consciousness. Their common adversity under the Cromwellian settlement had gone far towards modifying the traditional hostility between Celt and Anglo-Norman. Both races now served in the same Army—even in the same regiment. The regiment of Justin MacCarthy sustained that of Thomas Butler, while a descendant of Niall of the Nine Hostages commanded a company for Lord Clanrickarde.[2] The descendants of Elizabethan settlers were found in the Irish ranks, so that even such a bitter opponent of the Irish as Edmund Spenser had a nephew in Dominic Sarsfield's regiment.[3]

It must of course be conceded that as yet the focus of their loyalty was the King rather than the Kingdom. But it was an epoch in which

[1] Hayes : Ireland and Jacobitism, STUDIES VOL. XXXVIII, p. 101.

[2] Captain Charles Daly.

[3] Lieutenant Hugolin Spenser.

King and Kingdom were closely identified, and men died everywhere for " King and Country " in a manner that finds its only parallel today in the British Empire.

It was one of the misfortunes following upon the Treaty of Limerick, that it deprived Ireland of its natural leaders—the Irish Catholic gentry. The result was that for a century after Limerick the breath of liberty did not stir in Ireland. When it did, it was in the hearts of men of the conquering race and the new religion. These brought to the cause of Irish nationalism many of the Jacobin doctrines of the French Revolution. They superimposed upon Irish political aspirations the ideals of *Liberté, Egalité,* and *Fraternité.* Fostered by them, the idea of a *Republic* of Ireland gradually dominated men's minds. But it was an idea of foreign growth and alien to the ancient Catholic tradition of the country ; and it replaced a concept that was as old as St. Patrick—the Catholic Kingdom of Ireland.

It is at least an interesting speculation as to how far Republicanism, as a political creed in Ireland, would have succeeded at all if the Irish Catholic gentry had not sacrificed their country for a career. For in no quarter did this new growth encounter more relentless opposition than amongst the remnants of the old Irish Jacobite families. Driven out of France by the Jacobin Revolution there, it was not to be expected that they would have much sympathy with its counterpart in Ireland. It created a cleavage between them and their country that time has never bridged. And it rendered almost impossible the task of measuring the extent of their national aspirations by our modern Republican yard-stick.

In estimating those aspirations, we cannot escape the magnitude of Ireland's effort in the Jacobite War. She put into the field an army of some 50,000 men, and it was only the limit of the equipment that restricted the numbers to that. This army maintained a struggle for three whole years against a force that included a very large proportion of Continental veterans and had behind it the whole strength of the Holy Alliance. When the War eventually terminated, 20,000 of them preferred exile abroad to foreign domination at home. And for a century after Limerick Irish Jacobite Regiments in French, Spanish, and Neapolitan service drew upon Ireland's youth for replacements.

Nor can this effort be explained by any personal loyalty to the Stuarts themselves. There was not lacking a strong feeling of sympathy for James II when he landed in Ireland ; but the King himself, " wearing an English shoe and an Irish brogue," quickly dispelled any sympathy there had been. And when he eventually fled from Ireland, he left behind him a people who had no illusions as to his attitude to them and their country. Yet this people continued the struggle for a year after the King's flight.

No doubt they felt they were fighting for their lands and their religion, The Jacobites desired above all else to upset the Cromwellian Settlement and restore the lands to their onetime Catholic owners. No doubt they

felt also that they were more likely to get religious toleration from a Catholic King. But to admit the existence of these motives is not to deny the presence of another. On the contrary indeed, for the struggle for the faith and for the land has always, in Ireland, been inextricably entwined with the struggle for political independence. And back of the minds of the Irish, political independence was their goal.

That shrewd observer, d'Avaux, perceived it and duly reported the fact to his Master, Louis XIV. " A great number of the people hope that the arrival of the King [James II] will *relieve them of the English yoke.*"[1] And again : " The Irish recognise also that the English who surround the King—even the Catholics—are their greatest enemies and *most opposed to the recovery of their liberty.*"[2]

The writings of contemporary Irish Jacobites give many examples of a very conscious nationalism. There had always been at least an unconscious national feeling amongst the Celts, and indeed Eoin MacNeill contends that from the sixth to the ninth century it was more developed amongst the Irish than any other race in Western Europe. But the descendants of the Anglo-Normans had always regarded themselves as aliens in Ireland—English in origin, culture, and sentiment. It is all the more remarkable, therefore, to find even stronger evidence of a conscious nationalism among the Anglo-Irish Jacobites than among those of native stock.

The native Irish contemporary, Colonel Charles O'Kelly, in the introduction to his history of the Jacobite War,[3] claims for himself that he " alwaies preferred the interest of *his country*". Writing of Ireland after the Treaty of Limerick, O'Kelly refers to it as " a conquered *nation*". Elsewhere in the text he refers to " the Irish *nation*," " the *nation*," " the *country*".

Plunkett, to whom is attributed the authorship of " A Light to the Blind," was a Palesman. It is interesting to find him speaking in similar language. Describing the fall of St. Ruth, he speaks of the ball that slew him as one " that laid *the nation* prostrate at his feet".[4] And writing of Tyrconnell's death he says : " Thus that great man fell and with him pulled down a mighty edifice—viz. *a considerable Catholic nation.*"[5] That such was the general habit of thought amongst his Anglo-Norman compatriots is confirmed by Sir Richard Nagle, who writes likewise on the death of Tyrconnell : "As he appeared always zealous for his *country*, so his loss at this time was extream (sic) pernicious for this poor *nation.*"[6]

But perhaps the most remarkable passage of all is one of Plunkett's

---

[1] d'Avaux to Louis XIV. 4 April, 1689.
[2] Ibid.
[3] *Macariae Excidium :* written in 1692.
[4] Gilbert : Jacobite Narrative, p. 143.
[5] Ibid. p. 155.
[6] Ibid. p. 282.

Besides being an Anglo-Norman, he was a lawyer of considerable eminence at the Bar. The passage in question, therefore, may be taken as showing the Anglo-Irishman's view of what would be called today the constitutional position : I quote it almost *in extenso* :

" But you'll say that England, the principal kingdom of the monarchy, ought to be followed by Ireland in owning or disowning the Kings of that Monarchy. We answer this : that the behaviour herein of the people of England is no rule to Ireland, *a distinct realm, a different nation,* as having a Viceroy or Governor sent by the King, *as King of Ireland,* also as having discrepant laws, as having a parliament of her own. . . . Ireland hath never acknowledged her King to be chosen by the people, nor her King to be deposeable by the people upon any cause of quarrel. She knows more righteous things, and scorns to make heretical England her pattern in the point of righteousness. . . . Moreover you are to know that England, separated from her lawful king, has no more right in Ireland than has France or Spain, or hath Ireland in England ; *so that each nation of the three—viz. English, Scotch, and Irish—is independent of the other two,* but all are depending on the King. Hence it is that, if the blood royal be extinct, *every one of the three nations may choose a distinct government.* These independencies are sufficiently proved in books that are obvious, which spares me labour in this place. Wherefore *what authority the people of England challenges or exercises over Ireland is mere usurpation and is done in a strong hand.*"[1]

Finally we may close with the preamble of a Statute enacted by the Jacobite Parliament and entitled " An Act declaring that the Parliament of England cannot bind Ireland against Writs of Error and Appeals to be brought for removing judgments, decrees and sentences given in Ireland into England."[2] The Preamble reads : " *Whereas his majesty's realm of Ireland is and hath been always a distinct kingdom from that of his majesty's realm of England, . . .*"[3]

It is abundantly clear from all these extracts that the Irish Jacobites—even those of English origin—regarded Ireland as an independent nation, whose only link with the sister isle was that of a common King. It is clear too, that even those of English stock strongly resented any attempt by England to assert any authority in this country, while the native Irish regarded England as the despoilers of their liberty. If one excepts the form of government, there is present here almost all the ingredients that go to make Irish nationalism, as we know it.

In conclusion it must be said for the Irish Jacobites that they sustained a longer struggle, against more powerful opposition, and came nearer to success than any body of militant nationalists down to the present century.

DIARMUID MURTAGH

---

[1] Gilbert : Jacobite Narrative pp. 183-4.
[2] Ibid. Appendix IV p. 246.
[3] Ibid.

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MACKENNA, S.J.

XCIII

The author of this poem, Fearghal (son of Tadhg son of Aonghus Ruadh) Ó Dálaigh, died in 1420 (FM, AU, &c.). He tells how his grandfather Aonghus Ruadh had quarrelled with Cormac Ballach Ó Maoileachluinn, + 1362, King of Midhe, the father of the Cormac Ó Maoileachluinn here addressed. He also tells of the quarrel between Aodh Ainmhireach and Dallán Éigeas and of Colum Cille's saving the poets from banishment. Dearbháil (stt. 49–50), daughter of Laoiseach Ó Díomusaigh, was probably wife of Cormac Ó Maoileachluinn.

FEARGHAL O DALAIGH .cc.

1. Maith fear mar chách, a Chormaic,
ar ttionnsgnamh ttém nósordhruic
seanfhocal nach saobh re rádh,
(a) chraobh ghreadhshotal ghnúsnár.

2. Ní guth d'aoinfhior, a ucht seang,
bheith mar bhíos cách go coitcheann;
fear mar chách ní cúis t'uidhe,
a ghnúis mar bhláth Bealtuine.

3. A Chormaic na ccéimeann ndeas,
a-táid cách dhamh go díleas;
créad ma ccéalmais é más eadh
ós é a-déarmais fa dheireadh.

4. Innistear ód chneas mar chuip,
a mheic Cormaic, a Chormuic,
gan tú leo umuinn amhlaidh,
a eo a Lunnuinn leathanghlain.

5. Ní (oba), a ua na cCormac
dar sgaoil Fódla fochanbhrat,
beith am cheann seach cách uile
an fáth as fhearr fhéachfuidhe.

6. A-táid cách go díleas damh
acht tusa, a thaidhleoir Cruachan;
ná bí amhlaidh gan láimh linn,
a rí chláir abhluigh Oilill.

7. Muna (bhéis) ní as dísle dhamh,
a Chormuic na cceard lúthmhar,
bí a ttír mar chách im ar cceann
do-chínn mun (bhfáth) dhá (bhfuighleam).

8. As usaide a dhúsacht duit
arguin re chéile, a Chormuic,
a fhios tarla ag cách cheana,
a bhláth abhla óigfheadha.

9. T'athairsi, a ua na cCormac,
(uasal) fad a (bhfearannlot)
creach Aonghuis Ruaidh do-rinne,
cleath chuain bhraonghluis bháinFhinne.

10. Ní dhiongnadh sé ar son a chruidh
arguin ollamhun dúthaigh
muna bheath adhbhar aige,
a chleath armghlan Fhánaide.

11. A Chormaic, a chroidhe glan,
más fíor dáibh dob é a adhbhar
—mairg re a mbeanann beacht an sgeoil—
teacht ón fhearonn dá aimhdheoin.

12. Táinig imreasan as soin
gur gríosadh dá éis t'athoir ;
duid féin narab séan samhuil
sgéal an bhuig fhéil fhearamhuil.

13. Na cionnta sin leath ar leath
as í an chóir, a chiabh ghlúineach,
a ccur as mar as dú dhaoibh
go nach clas tú do thathaoir.

14. Dá ndearnam breath red bhais ccuirr
umpa, a mheic Í Mhaoil Eachluinn,
fada as dóigh an bhreath gan bhreith
dá ndeach ar ccóir ón chéidbhreith.

15. A mheic Cormaic chorcras ga,
aithnidh duit dáil na córa ;
muna thí an chóir le chéile
badh dóigh í n-a haimhréidhe.

16. Leigeam seachainn sin mar sin,
ní maith cóir idir chairdibh ;
ma cheann ná bíom ag bagar,
's fearr síodh iná síorchagadh.

17. Gach cagadh, gach díth daoine,
gach fala, a ghnúis ghéagnaoidhe,
téid sin ar síoth fa dheireadh ;
ar bhfíoch libh ní luaidhfidhear.

18. Dá ndiultaoi dáil gach sgoile
ma n-aoradh ma (n-ionghoire)
neach dhíobh ní bhiadh sa Bhanbha
ag riar ríogh is ríoghdhamhna.

19. A-táid riamh, ní reimheas ghearr,
d'aithle aortha fhear n-Éireann
ar síothcháin gá síol ó shoin
gan fhíochbháigh ríogh dá rochtoin.

20. Nach leor duitse dá dhearbhadh,
an sgeolsa, a ghlac géagsheadhmhar
craobhshlat gan chúl ret oineach
ar Aodhmhac n-úr n-Ainmhireach.

21. Aodh mhac Ainmhireach fuair teann,
airdrí oireachais Éireann,
bladh dá ccuala d'iochd Aodha
red shliocht uadha as iontaobha.

22. Dallán Éigeas nar éar sgoil
ollamh Éireann mun amsoin ;
sgol trí gcaogad dámh Dhalláin
sa chlár craobhbog cnuasfhalláin.

23. Seacht bhfichid fa fraochdha an dámh
is deichneamhar do Dhallán
ag cor chuarta na Banbha,
sgol ruagtha gach ríoghdhamhna.

24. Fa hé bioth do bhíodh aca,
an dámh fhaobhrach allata,
sluagh Gréag do ghialldaois don dáimh
gach séad dá n-iarrdaois d'fhagháil.

25. Nuair do riarthaoi iad uile
ó fhichid go haonduine,
dá ndíol gion gur nár do neach,
an dámh do bhíodh go buidheach.

26. Gá dtú acht táinig dá ndoirbhe,
's do chorroighe a ccomhoirle
maithe mhuighe Fódla Finn
dá ffógra uile a hÉirinn.

27. Dallán Éigeas da éis sain
téid 's an tromdámh go Teamhraigh,
ráth úr na mbraonshlat mbileach
fa dhún dh'Aodhmhac Ainmhireach.

28. Congbhais Aodh—fa heineach teann—
gér mhaith saith le sluagh Éireann,
feadh bliadhna an tromdháimh n-a thigh
'n-a ccomhdháil chliardha cheirdigh.

29. Gabhaid cead a ccionn bhliadhna
ag Aodh an ghég fhuiltniamhdha;
dob aithnidh dh'Aodh bríogh a mbeart
gan díol níor fhaomh a n-imtheacht.

30. Rí Éireann ar ndíol a dhámh
ag dealughadh re Dallán,
"Beir lat mh'eirreadh agus mh'each"
ar an tslat (neimhmear) náireach.

31. Nochtais a bhruinne mar bhláth,
sgaoilis de an t-eirreadh iongnáth,
tug an seingfhear ón Mhuaidh mhir
a eirreadh uaidh don fhilidh.

32. Dealg a bhruit do leig ar lár
gá sgaoileadh dó do Dhallán;
do-chuaidh an dealg ar dearmad
ó sduaigh na sealg soineannbhog.

33. Do chionn dearmuid an deilg óir
do bhí a mbinn an bhruit donnshróill
do aor Dallán mar nar dhligh
Aodh ger (fhanndál) don fhilidh.

34. Ionnsoighid Colum Cille,
barr einigh ar n-Éirinne,
fairbríogh 'n-ar daoradh an dream,
ar n-aoradh airdríogh Éireann.

35. Bliadhain do bhádar aige
gan doichioll gan dochraide
dá riar ag Colum Cille,
fa chomholl fhial fhírinne.

36. Go Druim Ceat a ccionn bhliadhna
tig Aodh an airm oirniamhdha
is sluagh Fáil na ttorann tte
n-a ndáil go Colom Cille.

37. Tug Rí Éireann ann sin síodh
do Dhallán (mhear n-a) mhíghníomh,
is tug don tromdháimh 'n-a cheann
a cconnmháil ar fhud Éireann.

38. Síth do Dhallán tre eineach
mar thug Aodh mhac Ainmhireach,
tairg sa fhalaidh nach díoth duit
síoth dar ccabhair, a Chormuic.

39. Leig seocham suim do mhóide,
ná cluineam cúis th'urchóide ;
maith gach síodh bhias gan bháthadh
bíom n-ar ndias dearbhráthar.

40. Réidhidh eadrom is t-ucht bog,
ag so an coiscéimsi chugad,
narab aithreach dhúinn ná dhait,
a dhúil chaithmheach, a Chormaic.

41. Gabh chugad an lámhso ad láimh
a hucht chumaoine is Chiaráin
ar naomh dúthaigh leath ar leath,
a chraobh rer dhlúthaigh deighbhreath.

42. Meisi ar th'ionchuibh, a ucht seang,
a dhos díona dhámh n-Éireann,
a rí as neimhnighe a n-am áigh,
a cheinnbhile clann cColmáin.

43. A leannáin lucht ar cceirde,
a ghnúis ar ghné an doinnmheirge,
a chraobh as neartmhaire a-nos,
a thaobh sneachtaidhe solos.

44. (A) aithghin Fhearghuis mheic Róigh,
a dhídean cháigh a ccédóir,
a Cholmánaigh gan mhóid min,
a óig shoghrádhaigh shoilbhir.

45. Ní hurusa, a fholt na ngleann,
cur riot ar chródhacht ccéimeann,
ná ar fhéile, ós í do dhearbhais,
ná ar réidhe ar tí tighearnais.

46. Feitheamhnas nach faiceann cách
is féile ar nach fuil ursgáth
a-tá, a Chormaic, ad chridhe,
ordhraic trá do thréidhighe.

47. Dá tteagmhadh go ttiocfadh neach
do chur ghill red ghruadh ttéigleach
as usa an geall do dhul duit
ná cur ad cheann, a Chormuic.

48. A mheic mhíolla Í Mhaoil Eachluinn,
a óig géagdha gheimhealchuirr,
badh rí ordhruic rí do raith
dá ttí, a Chormaic, do chomhmaith. M.

49. Maith gach bean do bhiadh mar sibh
a Dhearbh-áil inghion Laoisigh
n-a géig ionnraic bhinn bhádhaigh
n-a fionnfhlaith shing shoghrádhaigh.

50. Geall teasda as tú do chosain
do mhnáibh mhaicne ó nDíomasaigh
gan mnaoi a-nos fa rian do raith
cian ó do-chlos do chomhmaith. Maith

Translation

1. " A man should be like other men." I am starting with an adage, no silly one, a noteworthy theme, O Cormac, O modest-faced, horse-proud prince.

2. O graceful breast, to act as others usually act is no reproach for any man ; (but) O face as May-bloom, to be like other men is not thy aim at present.

3. O Cormac, hero of fine achievement, all men take my side ; why should I not say this now for I intend to say it always ?

4. O Cormac, son of Cormac, thou hero of foam-white skin, thou salmon from famous great London, thou sayest thou hast a different idea of me from others.

5. O scion of all the Cormacs over whom Fódla has spread her mantle of grass, thou allowest thyself to differ from others in dealing with the best seer whom thou shalt ever see.

6. O thou who dwellest in Cruacha and art lord of the wooded plain of Oilill, all men are on my side except thee ; do not refuse to take my hand.

7. O Cormac, lover of all keen artists, if thou wilt not be my closest friend, at least behave towards me like the others in the land whom I used to see gathered around that seer of whom I shall now speak (?).

8. O Cormac, thou blossom from the tree of a young orchard, certain facts generally known make it easier for thee to stir up a quarrel between us.

9. O scion of the Cormacs—and great the extent of their harryings of the land!—thy father once pillaged Aonghus Ruadh, Prince of the blue-watered Bay of the fair Finn.

10. O bright-sworded warrior of Fána, thy father would not have attacked a native poet for his property had he not good reason.

11. O bright-hearted Cormac, the reason he is thought to have had was that the poet left his land without leave ; I am sorry for a man to whom the story exactly applies !

12. Thereupon a dispute arose and thy father was satirised ; may what happened to that generous hospitable manly hero not happen to thee !

13. O wavy-haired hero, justice demands that all those charges against thee be properly quashed so that folk may never know that thou hast been abused.

14. O son of O Maoileachluinn, stout-handed hero, if I speak against thee as regards these charges so that my side of the case between us may be set right again (?) judgment is likely to remain long unpronounced (?)

15. O son of Cormac, great reddener of spears, thou knowest how it is with lawsuits ; if a case is not settled by agreement it is likely to be a great trouble.

16. Let us avoid all that ; lawsuits are not for friends, let us cease threatening each other in this matter ; better peace than constant wrangling.

17. Every war, every loss of life, every quarrel, O fresh face, has to end finally in peace ; of my anger against thee I shall not speak again.

18. If poets were always to lose their lawsuits, whether these arise from their satirising others or from their defending themselves, there would be no poets left in Banbha to serve kings and princes.

19. After satirising all the men of Éire, they have now been—and for long past have been—at peace with their descendants, and no princes' attacks assail them.

20. Proof enough for thee of this, O deft-fingered Prince, Prince unwearied in hospitality, is the story of Aodh son of Ainmhire.

21. I have trust in thy race owing to something I have heard of the indulgent character of Aodh son of Ainmhire, who held sway and was High-king of the realm of Éire.

22. Dallán Éigeas, welcomer of poets, was Ollamh of Éire at that time ; a school of three fifties was the following of Dallán on the rich undulating clean-harvested plain.

23. Fierce was that poet-following, seven twenties and ten whom Dallán had, going the round of Banbha and plundering each prince.

24. The way in which that fierce keen-tongued band lived was by the host of the Greeks granting them every treasure which they asked.

25. The whole band of these poets when they were being maintained (by the nobles) were simply thankful, though none of them would have had any reason for being ashamed if they had been less than twenty in number.

26. Owing to their truculence and their restlessness at council the nobles of the Plain of fair Fódla banished them all from Éire.

27. Then Dallán Éigeas and his trouble-making poets go to Teamhair, that new castle with its fresh laths taken from trees, the stronghold of Aodh son of Ainmhire.

28. Aodh, disregarding the wishes of the men of Éire, kept with himself for a year—a costly act of hospitality—the troublesome host, a great poetic artistic assembly.

29. After a year they took leave of fair-haired Aodh ; he understood the importance of their function and would not let them go without being provided for.

30. The King of Éire, cautious modest prince, when he was rewarding them and was taking leave of Dallán, said to them :—" Take with you my cloak and my steed."

31. He then uncovers his flower-white breast, throwing off his splendid cloak ; thus did that graceful hero from the rushing Muaidh give his garment to the poet.

32. When loosening his cloak to give it to Dallán, he let its broach fall to the ground ; it fell unnoticed by that man, hero of so many soft Summer hunting-days.

33. Owing to this forgetting of the gold broach from the border of the bright satin cloak, Dallán satirised Aodh most wrongfully, though it was done in foolishness.

34. The poets then go to Colum Cille, chief glory of our Éire's hospitality, after they had satirised a High-king of Éire, an act of insolence for which they were afterwards condemned.

35. He kept them for a year most willingly and pleasantly ; their sojourn with Colum Cille was a perfect act of true hospitality.

36. After a year Aodh of the flashing sword together with the loud-tramping host of Fál go to Colum Cille at Druim Ceat.

37. Then the King of Éire pardoned the hasty Dallán for his evil deed, and on the other hand gave the troublesome band the privilege of being maintained throughout Éire.

38. As in his generosity Aodh son of Ainmire pardoned Dallán, do thou, O Cormac, offer thy pardon to me for an offence that did thee no harm.

39. Let thy anger pass me by, let us hear no more of what annoys thee ; good is a lasting peace ; let us be as two brothers.

40. O generous heart, smooth out the trouble between me and thee ; behold I make advances to thee, O Cormac who art the soul of generosity ; let neither of us regret this reconciliation.

41. O Prince to whom just judgment has ever recommended itself, take my hand in thine in the name of our union in Ciarán, that saint akin to both of us.

42. I cast myself on thy mercy, O graceful breast, O Tree which protects Éire's poets, O Prince most fierce in battle, O chief Tree of the races of Colmán.

43. O darling of our profession, O face like to a bright banner, O branch never stronger than now, O body snow-white and shining.

44. O Fearghus mhac Róigh come among us again, O instant protector for all men, O scion of Colmán free of all pettiness, O lovable eloquent youth.

45. O wavy-haired hero, 'tis hard to vie with thee in gallantry or in generosity—'tis this thou hast (chiefly) displayed—or in readiness for the task of ruling.

46. In thy heart is a spirit of circumspection such as no one sees now and of generosity whose brightness is unshadowed; splendid indeed are thy qualities.

47. If any one were to think of rivalling thee in peacefulness of mien 'twould be simpler for him to yield to thee at once than to enter into such rivalry.

48. O gentle son of Ó Maoil-Eachluinn, O stout youth so firm-knitted (?), splendid shall be the king if any king be given us with good fortune like thine and with character as good.

49. Good would be the lady who would resemble thee, O Dearbháil daughter of Laoiseach, thou splendid sweet lovable graceful amiable princess.

50. Thou dost surpass in glory all the ladies of the race of Í Dhíomasaigh, nor is there any lady now like to thee in fortune; 'tis long since we have heard of thy equal.

Notes

MSS.: 23 L 17 156, (L), NUI 18 298 (N). Text is L except as follows:—1*b Leg.* tém? *d.* a *abest* LN; ghnúis. L 2*d.* Béa. LN 4*c.* amuinn LN 5*a.* óbraoi LN; uath L 6*c.* -luigh L 7*a.* bheir LN *d.* fháth LN; fhoilgheam LN 8*b.* airgin LN *c.* fhis LN 9*b.* orshail LN; fod L; féa. LN *d.* cu. L; -aoghl- LN 11*d.* an LN 14*b.* mhic LN 15*b.* dhuit L *c.* ttí LN 17*cd.* síth, bhfích LN 18*b.* niodhghoire LN 19*c.* síoch. L 20*b.* ghéaghseadh. L *c.* red toi. LN *d.* nairmineach L 21*b.* rígh L *d.* red ts. LN; ionnt. LN 22*a.* sgol L *b.* -son L *c.* cao. LN; dall. LN *d.* -bhog chnua. LN 23*a.* fithch. L *c.* -rda LN 24*a.* bith LN *d.* iard. LN 25*b.* ó fhithchid LN 26*a.* tú LN *b.* -aidhe LN 27*a.* sin LN *b.* sa tromdháimh L *d.* daoghmh. L 28*a.* -gmhus LN 29*a.* -ghna L 30*a.* Rígh LN *c.* mearradh N *d.* neinidh L, neinigh N 31*a.* -us LN *b.* -leas LN *c.* mu. mir LN 32*d.* -inneanbh. LN 33*b.* doinn. L *d.* bhandál LN 34*c.* -bhríogh LN 35*a.* -ghain L *b.* doithchioll LN 37*a.* Rígh LN *b.* dhallán ioná LN 38*b.* meic L; -mheir. L *c.* díth dhuit LN *d.* síth LN 39*b.* -nim LN 40*a.* Réigh. LN 41*b.* -aoin LN *c.* sar LN *d.* -aigh LN 42*a.* hionn. L *b.* dámh Éi. LN *c.* rígh LN 43*a.* lionáin L, lionnáin N *d.* -aighe LN 44*a.* A *abest* LN; mhic LN 46*c.* atáid LN *d.* tráth N, tráith L; -eighi- LN 47*b.* tteilgeach LN 48*b.* ghimh. L 49*c.* innr. LN *d.* finn. LN 50*b.* -msaigh L *c.* rath LN *d.* ó da LN.

PHILOSOPHY AND SCIENCE

THE PLACE OF SCIENCE IN HUMAN AFFAIRS

BY REV. P. J. MACLAUGHLIN, D.SC.

SLOWLY but surely the efforts of thinkers to initiate a new synthesis of knowledge are gaining ground throughout the world, and it is noteworthy that Catholics are playing a part in the movement. For centuries silent or on the defensive, Catholic thinkers are now once again making their voices heard in intellectual discussions—especially in those which concern the place of science in human affairs. In Italy the lead has been given by no less a personage than his Holiness the Pope through the foundation of the Pontifical Academy of Sciences. In France, Duhem's splendid but neglected work on the history of science and the sterling value of the medieval contribution (which has been confirmed by the recent researches of Thorndike in the United States) is being succeeded by the equally original and valuable work of de Broglie and Leprince-Ringuet on the practical side, together with the efforts of Père Dubarle, cosmologist, and Abbé Sesmat, mathematical logician, on the theoretical side. In Belgium, the outstanding work of Abbé Lemaître in mathematical cosmology has been followed by a notable burst of activity in Louvain, ranging from the publications of its Nuclear and Molecular Physics Department on the positive side to the more speculative publications of Renoirte, Mansion and Van Riet bearing on the history of science and the philosophy of matter. In Ireland, worth-while contributions have been made in O'Rahilly's *Electromagnetics*, O'Neill's *Cosmology* and Gill's *Fact and Fiction in Modern Science*—(this last having had big sales in America).

In England, the output of Catholic men of science is considerable. It ranges from the numerous papers and books of Sir Edmund Whittaker and Dr. F. S. Taylor to the publications of W. R. Thompson, J. K. Heydon, Hugh Stott Taylor and the new writer, E. F. Caldin. In the present article we have a word to say about recent publications of two of these men of science.[1]

In England, as in many other parts of Western Europe, science (more correctly, technology) is at a premium while nearly all other departments of human knowledge, especially theology and philosophy, are at a discount. The high prestige of science springs from the extent and success of its applications rather than from an understanding of what science is in itself. The triumphs of technology have been amazing, and it is not surprising that many people have unlimited faith in the powers of science—the reputed father of techniques. Scientists are accepted as prophets and oracles. Not only uneducated people but even some scientists believe that science can solve every problem, and it is commonly thought that scientific method is applicable and fruitful in every field of human knowledge and endeavour.

The three books under review are designed to correct such opinions. We take Dr. Taylor's publications first. Dr. Taylor is curator of the history of science at Oxford, and few men living are better acquainted than he is with the subject. Years ago, when he was not so well up in the story of science as he is now, he was asked by the Rationalist Association to give a lecture on Galileo Galilei and the Church. Dr. Taylor accepted the invitation and, like an honest man, went to the scources for the facts. After laborious research, he was astonished to find that

[1] F. Sherwood Taylor: *Concerning Science*. (London: Macdonald. 1949. 6s.).
F. Sherwood Taylor: *Two Ways of Life*. (London: Burns Oates. 1947. 7s. 6d.).
E. F. Caldin: *The Power and Limits of Science*. (London: Chapman & Hall. 1949. Pp. 196. 12s. 6d.).

the cardinals had had the better of the argument. Soon afterwards he became a Catholic. Since his conversion he has been feverishly busy with his pen, generally as a Christian apologist. His *Two Ways* contrasts the life of the Christian and the life of the materialist who thinks that science is enough. The book is a survey of the two principal philosophies of to-day and the two ways of life are compared at three distinct levels : first, at the level which gives significance to the other two, the elusive inmost level of the spirit ; the private life of personal relations with family and friends constitutes the second level ; and the last level embraces public life whereby a man has dealings with the citizens of his town, his country, or the world. Dr. Taylor shows that materialism tends to destroy all that is good in these relationships, while Christianity on the other hand ennobles them.

In *Concerning Science* Dr. Taylor examines the effect of science on human life and thought. Such a study, in his opinion, is necessary for every member of our modern scientific civilisation, for without it we cannot hope to understand the society we live in. Dr. Taylor gives a vivid exposition of what is and what is not science, and he describes many applications. He argues that " only when Society is fully aware of the powers and limits of science, will it be able to control its advance".

Dr. Taylor has some responsibility for the third book on our list since he encouraged the author, Mr. E. F. Caldin, to begin it ; and we are not surprised that the title is *The Power and Limits of Science.* The theme is the function of science, its true place in the scheme of knowledge and human affairs. The book is a philosophical study. The stand-point is that of a moderate realist. The result is by far and away the best book of its kind in recent years. Those who found Bertram Russell's book on the same subject[1] abstruse will be delighted with this readable, succinct, clear, perspicuous and commonsense treatment of fundamental questions. The author is a chemist with training in philosophy (he studied at Oxford, where he had philosophical tuitions from the Dominicans at Blackfriars, the Jesuits at Campion Hall, and Sir Oliver Franks at Queen's College). His book is written for sceptical non-Catholics. He talks to the world in its own language, expressing his realism in modern terms, with precision and clarity. He does not shirk a question because it is profound or technical, and he puts forward his solution with modesty.

In a book which is for the thoughtful, Mr. Caldin starts off by describing the actual methods employed by scientists, and he goes on to analyse the procedures and scope of physical science. He shows that physics is limited by its very method and that it cannot yield a full account of experience. Besides being restricted in scope, physics is unable to justify its presuppositions. It cannot criticise its ultimate principles any more than a man can lift himself by pulling up his socks. Since science cannot establish its own bases, we need disciplines other than science. In particular we need metaphysics. The nature of metaphysics and its relation to natural science are gone into, and there is an illuminating account of the method which is characteristic of science—the inductive method. Mr. Caldin's exposition clears away many of the confusions that have gathered around the subject of induction. His discussion of science and truth (involving an examination of truth) covers a lot of difficult ground rapidly but effectively, as he steers a realist course among the shoals of phenomenalism, sensationalism, and idealisms deriving from Kant. He adopts the theory of interpretation expounded in Father D'Arcy's *Nature of Belief,* which shows how we can be rationally certain of some beliefs and have a basis for metaphysics.

Perhaps the least satisfactory chapter in Mr. Caldin's book is that dealing with Eddington's theory that " the fundamental laws and constants of physics are wholly

[1]Bertram Russell : *Human Knowledge.* Its Scope and Limits. (London : Allen and Unwin). 1948. In the title of this book, Russell employs the word " knowledge " in the restricted sense of " modern science".

subjective " and independent of experiment (Sir Arthur Eddington : *The Philosophy of Physical Science*, p. 105). It is unsatisfactory because Eddington's accounts of his theory are full of confusions, and so too much space has to be consumed in a preliminary effort at clarification. Eddington, like Maxwell and others of the English school of mathematicians, was an intuitionist, and it is difficult to recast his thoughts in a logical mould as if he were a Frenchman. In so far as Eddington's theory can be rendered intelligible, Mr. Caldin shows that it is wrong, that if we want physical beliefs we must get them from the data of observation, not from reflection alone.

Mr. Caldin has interesting chapters on the relation of science to beauty, to ethics and to society, and he corrects a number of erroneous opinions. He shows how science is concerned in the great crisis of our time—the decline in our conception of man—and he points out that a more accurate view of science can help to a solution of the crisis. Science and scientific method have their place and they can be integrated into the good life, but they should not be regarded as the only approach to truth. Science is unable to deal with the moral, metaphysical and ethical problems which are of the highest importance for us. One of the urgent needs of contemporary thought is a clear understanding of the true relations and differences between the methods of science and the methods of other departments of knowledge. Mr. Caldin is certain that science can never of itself be wisdom, and that it can never decide our nature and destiny.

A good bibliography and a statement of the cosmological argument for the existence of the First Cause bring this interesting book to an end.

P. J. MACLAUGHLIN

REVIEWS

BIOGRAPHY

CATHERINE McAULEY : The first Sister of Mercy. By Roland Burke Savage, S.J., M.A. Dublin : Gill. 1949. 15s.

NANO NAGLE, Mary Aikenhead and Catherine McAuley are three Irish women to whom Ireland owes an immense debt of gratitude. Some years ago Father Burke Savage gave us a life of Nano Nagle's fellow-worker as a pioneer in Irish Catholic education, Teresa Mulally, the foundress of the Presentation Convent, George's Hill, Dublin. He has now filled a gap that has long been felt in the history of that great Catholic revival which was centred in Dublin during the nineteenth century, though its influence was felt throughout the country. Nano Nagle worked in Cork, and her life's story brings us back to the penal days. Teresa Mulally, who was too humble ever to believe herself worthy of a religious vocation, worked here in Dublin on the same lines, and it was she who brought the Irish Presentation Sisters to Dublin. Mary Aikenhead and Catherine McAuley both began their work in Dublin : between them they gave an immense impetus to that movement for organised charitable work, no longer confined (as in the convents of the Presentation Sisters) to the enclosed convents which have been, ever since Nano Nagle's day, so familiar to us all as centres of old-fashioned Irish Catholic piety in most of our Irish rural towns. Mary Aikenhead and Catherine McAuley were conscious of the new and often appalling problems set by the growth of city life, and intensified by the demoralising influence of the inhuman legislation of the eighteenth century.

Here in this life of the foundress of the Irish Sisters of Mercy we get at last an adequate picture of what one great-hearted woman could do for the poor and infirm and suffering in Ireland and elsewhere.

Catherine McAuley was born in 1781 at Stormanstown House near the Ballymun Road just north of Glasnevin. Her father, James McGauley (he so spelt his name), was a successful building contractor, who built the old Liffey Street Chapel which was for long a great centre of Catholic life. Father Burke Savage has given a most attractive account of the social life into which young Catherine was born, and of the change which came over her mother's life when her husband died suddenly in 1783, Catherine being then a child of two years. It is characteristic of Dublin in the late eighteenth century that her mother, after one or two other short-lived experiments, should have settled down to live with a Protestant friend, Mrs. St. George, the widow of an army officer. The picture we get in these first pages of this book brings Dublin of that period vividly before us ; and it may be added that Father Burke Savage has made skilful use of his familiarity with Irish social history to insert throughout his book similar well-drawn pictures of life in Cork, Limerick, Carlow, Galway, Tullamore and Birr—as the story of Mother McAuley's various foundations takes him from one to another of these Irish towns.

The main interest of the story is, of course, centred in Dublin where Catherine began her work as a social reformer before God had fully opened her eyes to the nature of her religious vocation. Her mother's death in 1798 left her an orphan at a tragic moment in the country's history. Her closest friends were Protestant, and their well-meaning attempts to influence her life added to the difficulties of these early years. One of them, William Callaghan, was so deeply impressed by Catherine's earnest piety that he became a Catholic on his death-bed and left his considerable fortune to his young friend. This gave Catherine her first opportunity of practical work for the poor of Dublin. She had already been in touch with Dr. Thomas Betagh, a former Jesuit of the Dublin community, who was now acting as vicar-general of the diocese under Dr. Troy. Very soon she was in touch with other priests of the city : Father Joseph Nugent, who had received William Callaghan into the Church, Father Edward Armstrong, and (above all) Dr. Michael Blake, the most active parish priest of this period, whose work for the city of Dublin Father Myles Ronan has recently brought to the notice of us all in his biography of Father Henry Young. But the dominating figure in this Dublin revival of piety and charity is the new Archbishop, Daniel Murray, who was consecrated as Coadjutor to Dr. Troy in 1809 and who succeeded to him in 1823.

Father Burke Savage's account of the first foundation at Baggot Street, the inevitable early difficulties, the heroic work of the Sisters during the outbreak of cholera in 1832 and the slow development of a new religious Congregation of Sisters of Mercy is an important contribution to the history of the archdiocese of Dublin. Dr. Murray's personal influence and policy reveal him, here as in so many other aspects of his work, as the true founder of Catholic Dublin as we know Dublin to-day. The Irish Sisters of Charity and the Irish Sisters of Mercy were worthy comrades in that great battle for faith and sacramental life. There were, as always in the first years of every new work of this kind, difficulties which taxed the patience of the foundress and might have been a sore trial to one of less valiant faith and courage. Father Burke Savage has had access to Mother McAuley's own letters and is thus able to tell the story for the first time from authentic documents. But he has never failed to enliven his documentation with anecdotes and comments of his own ; and some of the brief sketches which he has inserted of men, now forgotten, whose work has made our work possible to-day would alone make this volume a valuable treasure-house of Irish Catholic history.

From Dublin the movement spread to Kingstown (1835), Tullamore (1836), Charleville (1836), Carlow (1837), Cork (1837), Limerick (1838), Galway (1840), Birr (1841). The rapidity of this growth contrasts sharply with the more concentrated efforts of the Irish Sisters of Charity. A chapter on Mother McAuley's views on the government of her Congregation and the education of her Sisters makes it plain that she placed her trust from the first in a system of decentralised government which has proved admirably adapted to the spread of the Congregation throughout every Irish diocese—and also throughout the English-speaking world. The first English foundation was made at Bermondsey in 1839—at a time when pre-Famine emigration was already creating grave problems of organisation and rescue-work in English cities. Father Burke Savage has reserved the full story of the Congregation's extension outside Ireland (which will include the famous episode of Florence Nightingale and the Irish Sisters during the Crimean War) for another volume. He has given us enough in this first instalment to make us thankful for the valiant woman whom God's Providence gave to Ireland just when her work was most needed. Of Mother McAuley's inner life, and of the external signs of her constant union with God and abiding spirit of prayer, those who look to her as their Mother Foundress will find here enough to give them a true lesson in that deepest truth of our faith: that God's work can only be done by those who are conscious of their own nothingness and who put their trust wholly in the power and grace of God, the Father in Heaven.

P. D.

TITUS OATES. By Jane Lane. London: Andrew Dakers. 1949. 21s.

MISS LANE breaks new ground with this first biography of Titus Oates. When one reflects on the mass of writing, good and bad, that has been concerned with the history of the Popish Plot, that is no mean achievement. It is indeed surprising that no biographer should hitherto have attempted a full-length portrait of the central figure in this most sordid episode. The evil reputation of Oates was enough in earlier days to discourage biographers who had not yet discovered the psychological interest of an abnormal personality. Miss Lane does not approach her subject from the angle of a professional psychologist. Her concern is more old-fashioned: the moral character of a man who did such immense harm to the Catholic cause at a turning-point in English history. The psychological problem remains, and is indeed obvious from Miss Lane's narrative. This arrant knave—traitor to his friends, homosexual pervert, liar, perjurer, braggart and bully—is not an attractive figure. The story of his early life as son of an anabaptist preacher whose reputation for loose morals seems well attested, raises questions that suggest a psychopathical solution. But history is concerned, not with obscure problems of this kind, but with the positive results of this strange man's career. Here Miss Lane, patiently working her way through each new stage of a tortuous and ill-famed path, throws light on many of the perplexing riddles connected with the famous Plot.

Inevitably there is a subjective element in the portrait here drawn with so much care. Where perjury abounds, a biographer must trust to common sense and human probability for the choice between statements that are irreconcilable. The chief merit of this book is that Miss Lane cites so frequently and so abundantly from contemporary narratives. She has the art of working these separate strands into a tapestry that, for all its complex elements, lets the central figure stand forth in bold relief. Many of her quotations are taken from Sir Roger L'Estrange's brilliant pamphlets: his *Discovery upon Discovery*, his *Further Discovery of the Plot*, his *Shammer Shamm'd*, and (most frequently) his *Brief History of the Times* which was printed in 1687 when James II was king. Sir Roger's pen was sharp, and Miss

Lane has brightened her pages with some very vivid passages which come unquestionably from a biased source. But so much of her evidence comes from Oates himself, from his immediate friends and from what appear to be impartial witnesses that she is fully entitled to let Sir Roger have his say from time to time. Again she has used certain passages from the evidence of witnesses who appeared in the trial which ended in the conviction of Oates for perjury in 1685. Obviously the suspicion of false witness which is so strong in all that was sworn before the judges in the ill-famed trials of 1679 and 1680 is as strong in the evidence that was adduced to please James and his judges in 1685. But Miss Lane, to cite one example, is fully entitled to use the sworn evidence of English schoolboys who were, for five or six months, schoolmates of Titus Oates at St. Omers from December 1677 to June 1678. Their evidence is, of course, hostile to Oates, and it is the evidence of young papists. But the details which these boys recalled of their strange schoolfellow and his singular conduct in the classroom, the playground or the refectory are so vivid and so much in keeping with what one might expect from the memory of healthy young animals at school, that they carry conviction. The evidence was given primarily to convict Oates of perjury in his sworn statement that he had been present at the Jesuit congregation held in London towards the end of April 1678. But Miss Lane very rightly uses it to fill in some precious details in her portrait of the great Shammer who was soon to impose his sham on so many thousand credulous followers.

Students of Irish history will find little here to their purpose. Miss Lane has kept strictly to her subject, and has written fully only of those episodes which throw light on the personal character and fortunes of her villainous hero. There is no more than a brief mention of such names as Peter Talbot or Oliver Plunket, and the reader is nowhere reminded that the hysteria which swept London in the winter of 1678-9 was planned to sweep Dublin also. Titus Oates figures among those authors whose works were printed in Dublin almost immediately after their first issue in London: his *True Narrative* and the *Sermon preached at St. Michaels Wood-street* were both reprinted here in Dublin in 1679. But Miss Lane is not concerned with the Whig plot which was aimed at the overthrow of Ormonde in this country. She has enough, and more than enough, material to her hand in the central Whig plot in London, which came so near to excluding the Duke of York from succession to the throne. As one reads her narrative, it is impossible to refrain from judging James II as well as Titus Oates.

Rumours that the King's brother had become a papist had been confirmed some years before the date of the Plot. James deserves immense credit for the courage with which he faced the consequences of his personal decision, but his wisdom is open to grave question. Granted the strength of Protestant feeling in London and throughout most of the kingdom—and the hysteria which seized on English Protestants is irrefutable proof that anti-papal prejudice was strong—would it not have been wiser for the Duke to renounce his right to the succession in England as Queen Christina, daughter of Gustavus Adolphus, had renounced her claim to rule in Sweden after her conversion to the Catholic faith in 1654? Charles and James had been educated to believe in their divine right to rule in England, as Louis was educated to believe in his divine right to rule in France. The decision of the two brothers to stand firm in the assertion of their right is thus most easily excused—but how terrible has been the cost to English and Irish Catholics ever since! Queen Christina was still living as an exile in Rome during these years: an undignified, but still royal figure. She died in 1689. If James had followed her example, Titus Oates would never have won fame in history: nor should we ever have learned from bitter experience the full malice of Shaftesbury and his Whig party.

Turning back from this new biography to the three questions which Lord Acton posed in 1900, we find that Miss Lane shows sound judgment in her somewhat tentative conclusions. " What was going on between Coleman and Père la Chaise ? " Since Coleman had been warned in advance by Sir Edmund Godfrey and thus had time to destroy his more compromising papers, we can never be sure of the answer to this question. But Miss Lane is certainly right in maintaining that none of the papers that were acutally seized in Coleman's house suggest anything more than foolishly indiscreet zeal on the part of this English convert. His letters show that he was urging the French Jesuit to take a more active interest in his own scheme for the conversion of England by securing unconditional acceptance of the Duke's right to succeed his brother and rule as an openly Catholic king.

" How did Oates get hold of the wrong story ? " The wording of this question reveals at once Acton's personal suspicion that the true story was something more definitely conspiratorial than Catholic scholars believe. Miss Lane brings home to her readers the simple fact that the true conspiracy was entirely a Protestant conspiracy against the King and the Duke of York. Her account of Israel Tonge, the half-crazy fanatic who, more than Titus Oates himself, was the first inventor of the " Popish Plot " is one of the best pen-pictures in this book. Her view is that Tonge was entirely sincere in his obsession with the notion of a vast, mysterious, almost apocalyptic plot which it was to be his life's work to defeat ; that Oates, now desperate and at his wit's ends to find some source of livelihood, threw in his lot with this fanatic and was able to give the necessary local colour to Tonge's fantasies from his experience of life at Salamanca and St. Omers as well as in the household of the Duke of Norfolk ; and that Shaftesbury did not concern himself with either Tonge or Oates until he saw the possibility of exploiting these rumours and suspicions for his own ends. I must confess that I think it more probable that Shaftesbury was in touch with Israel Tonge before the autumn of 1678, and that Oates was induced to throw in his lot with this sincere but crazy fanatic because he knew that Tonge could command both money and influence. But that is no more than conjecture, and Miss Lane is entitled to her negative conclusion. Incidentally, her account of the first hatching of the plot by Oates and Tonge clears Dr. Sergeant of the charge, made by Major Ian Hay in *The Jesuits and the Popish Plot* (1934), that the plot was first hatched in the brain of an English secular priest.

As to the third question " Who killed Godfrey ? "—Miss Lane very prudently leaves it an open question, since Titus Oates had no immediate connection with Godfrey's murder. But I note that she, in company with other students of the mystery, finds Mr. Muddiman's suggestion (that Godfrey was murdered by the Earl of Pembroke) " perhaps the most interesting " of the many solutions that have been offered since the first discovery of the body at the foot of Primrose Hill.

A. G.

SAINTS ARE NOT SAD. Forty Biographical Portraits Assembled by F. J. Sheed. London : Sheed & Ward. 1949. 12s. 6d. net.

" THE one tragedy is not to be a saint," says Léon Bloy in a phrase quoted on the dust-sheet of this volume. Most of us endure the catastrophe with equanimity, not to say indifference. Nevertheless, if we believe the teaching of our Faith, it *is* a disaster, and the only real and irretrievable one ; and at any rate it would be well for us to do something about it, to get at least some idea of what it means to be a saint. Then perhaps, if it is altogether beyond me to become a great saint, I may see my way towards becoming a little one, or at least I may see the beginning of the road. If one lives in the company of a set of people for some time and does

not purposely set oneself in opposition to them, one begins after some time to enter into their views and to see things with their eyes. That is what Mr. F. J. Sheed has in view in introducing us to his forty saints. He has collected sketches of them which had appeared " here, there, and everywhere," and which were worthy of a permanent setting. Two only have been specially written for this volume: *St. Dominic* by Fr. Hilary Carpenter, O.P., and *St. Anthony of Padua* by Alice Curtayne. The others are the work of various authors, G. K. Chesterton, Hilaire Belloc, Archbishop Goodier, Fr. Vincent McNabb, O.P., Fr. Gervase Mathew, O.P., Fr. C. C. Martindale, S.J., Fr. Steuart, S.J., amongst them.

The saints chosen are a good representative selection, beginning with St. Paul and ending with St. Teresa of Lisieux. Among them are Saints from England, Ireland, Scotland, Italy, France, Spain, Portugal, Africa, Asia Minor. And the impression that emerges from all their stories is one of pulsating vitality, of intense and consuming energy. The series opens with St. Paul, that " spiritual whirlwind," whom Fr. Martindale sets before us in a few breathless pages. In his case the impression cannot fail to reach the most inattentive reader; but in all the saints here sketched—martyrs, missionaries, teachers, contemplatives—in the tranquil Francis de Sales as in the fiery Francis Xavier, in Joan of Arc as in Teresa of Lisieux, one can feel a power at work that raises them above themselves; a power that is at work in every Christian soul, and whose influence makes itself felt in proportion to the soul's efforts to conform to the Christian ideal and to be freed from the tyranny of self. And apart altogether from the question of edification, there is a wonderful human interest in these sketches.

M. F. E.

ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI. A new biography by Omer Englebert. Translated and edited by Edward Hutton. London: Burns Oates. 1950. 16s.

In his Introduction to this translation Mr. Hutton recalls the immense success of Paul Sabatier's *Vie de Saint François* which appeared in 1894 " and took the sceptical *fin de siècle* by storm ". In the past fifty years there has been an intense study of the primitive sources of the Franciscan legend by Franciscan scholars such as Father Cuthbert, Father F. M. Delorme and Father Hilarinus Felder as well as by English scholars such as the late Dr. A. G. Little and (more recently) Mr. J. R. H. Moorman. Ireland, which can proudly claim Luke Wadding as among the really great names of Franciscan scholarship, can also claim in more recent times the late Most Rev. Paschal Robinson, who—then simply Father Paschal Robinson, O.F.M., of the Catholic University in Washington—published his *Writings of Saint Francis of Assisi* in 1906 and his *Short Introduction to Franciscan Literature* in 1907.

The author of this new biography is a French priest, M. l'Abbé Omer Englebert, who has published a French translation of the *Fioretti* and other studies in early Franciscan literature. The special value of his biography is that he bases it throughout on the actual text of such early narratives as the *Vita Prima* or *Vita Secunda* of Thomas de Celano, the *Legenda Antiqua*, the *Speculum Perfectionis*, the *Vita* of St. Bonaventura and the *Fioretti*. M. Englebert has not tried to rival Paul Sabatier or Johannes Joergensen in his literary style; he does not make the same display of erudition as Father Cuthbert. He has one of the world's great stories to tell, and he is content to tell it, simply and without artifice, so far as possible from the narratives of those who knew the Poverello personally and were witnesses of his astonishing power.

The charm of the book is enhanced by a series of well chosen illustrations, many of them taken from the famous frescoes in the Upper Church of the great Basilica at Assisi; but some of the most interesting from early and often anonymous painters

of Florence and Siena. They say that a film of the life of Saint Francis is technically almost impossible. None of our modern actors could be trusted to impersonate with any hope of success the Saint who, of them all, has been judged by many to come nearest to Christ Himself. If that is true (and I can well believe it), this book is a reminder of the advantages that can still be claimed for the printed word. Here is a simple and most moving story, told by a biographer who has made a genuinely critical study of the primitive Franciscan authors. His book is admirably illustrated and printed ; and Mr. Hutton has done his work well. I can only hope that it will be widely read.

A. G.

CELTICA

LONGES MAC N-UISLENN : The Exile of the Sons of Uisliu. Edited by Vernam Hull. New York : The Modern Language Association of America ; London : Oxford University Press. 1949. Pp. 187.

LONGES MAC NUISLENN, " The Exile of the Sons of Uisliu," is the most universally admired of our native sagas. In it we are told the story of the birth and upbringing of Deirdre, of her elopement with Naoise when she reached marriageable age, of the consequent exile of Naoise and his two brothers, of their return to Ireland under a promise of safety from Conchubhar, and of their treacherous slaying at Conchubhar's residence in Eamhain Mhacha, followed by Deirdre's own death. In Irish there are two main versions of the story. The first, the text which Dr. Hull has edited in the volume under review, is the Old Irish *Longes*, written down probably in the ninth century, though the redaction of it we possess, as Dr. Hull points out, can hardly have been made before the end of the tenth century. The second main version is the Early Modern *Oidheadh Chloinne hUisnigh*, " The Death of the Children of Uisneach," first written down perhaps in the late fourteenth century. The edition of the Old Irish *Longes* published in 1880 by Ernst Windisch in his *Irische Texte* has for long been out of print. Scholars and the general reader alike will therefore welcome this new edition which has just been published, with translation, notes, and glossary, by Dr. Vernam Hull, Professor of English at New York University.

Dr. Hull was trained in Celtic studies by the late Rudolf Thurneysen, and he has dedicated this edition of *Longes Mac nUislenn* to the memory of his master. In the section of his introduction in which he discusses the relationship of the *Longes* to the *Oidheadh*, Dr. Hull, following Thurneysen's treatment of the subject in his *Heldensage*, does not consider the possibility of oral tradition having existed independently of the manuscript tradition. He tends therefore to regard the differences between the two tellings of the story as being due to the deliberate preference of a later redactor working on the old manuscript *Longes*. The late H. Munro Chadwick and Mrs. Chadwick, in Volume I of their *Growth of Literature* (p. 551), differ from Thurneysen in this important point. They give convincing reasons for believing that the Deirdre story had a continuous history in oral tradition, and hold that the author of the late-fourteenth-century *Oidheadh* may better be regarded as a conservative follower of the oral tradition of his day than a daring innovator on the manuscript tradition of the past. Likewise in speaking of the well known poem *Fianna bátar i nEmain* attributed to the poet Cináed úa hArtacáin, who died in 975 A.D., Dr. Hull (p. 6) holds that " the attribution is almost certainly incorrect ; the lateness of the language precludes that possibility". Here again Dr. Hull would seem to have been unduly influenced by Thurneysen's opinion (*Heldensage*, p. 21)—which, by the way, was based on considerations of content rather than of

language. Study of the language of the poem itself would lead rather to the conclusion that the attribution to Cináed is correct.

In the sections of his introduction which treat of the manuscripts and the language of the *Longes* and in his notes and glossary, Dr. Hull adds much to the work of his predecessors. Indeed some readers may well feel that linguistically the text is over-annotated. But too much is better than too little, and this scholarly edition of an outstanding saga-text may be unhesitatingly recommended as a book which may be used with profit both by the learner and the research-worker in the field of Celtic studies.

Longes Mac nUislenn is a difficult text, corruptly preserved. Dr. Hull has solved some difficulties and presented scholars with material which may ultimately lead to the solving of others. The following suggestions may be of help to future workers.

Paragraphs 2–4 : perhaps more attention should be paid to the metre than to the manuscript stemma. Thus in line 17, though L and Y agree against E in inserting *eter* in the line, to omit *eter* with E improves both grammar and metre. Likewise in l.23, though all three manuscripts support the reading *drúidechta drúad*, the archaic word-order *drúad drúidechta* would give the requisite trisyllabic ending ; and in l.24 to omit *féin*, against all three manuscripts, reduces the line to the requisite seven syllables. In lines 22 and 208, and elsewhere, Dr. Hull is mistaken in considering that *caín* ' beautiful ' contains long *á* followed by an *i*-glide (commonly printed *ái*) rather than a diphthong (commonly printed *ai*). In the translation of line 22, *Caín mál, Caín* should be taken as qualifying *mál* (" fine nobleman "). In line 210, *tig* (the reading of E) gives better rime than *taig* (the reading of L and Y) and is the older form. In line 213 the rime shows that *tain* should be read (against all three manuscripts) rather than the synonymous *tein*. In line 240 *áilli blaí* should doubtless have been translated " lovely cloaks " (see *Béaloideas* VI 135-136). Line 275 : the *a* in *ingnais* should be short, as rimes in bardic poetry and the spoken Munster form *iúnuis* show.

Readers of Studies may be interested to note that Dr. Hull accepts for line 39 an emendation of Strachan's published by Dr. Bergin in Studies, 1924, p. 145, and that in commenting on the Middle Irish *acht corro chuired* (l. 105) he cites the correct Old Irish form *acht ro corad* mentioned by Dr. Bergin in the same place.

G. M.

Classics

P. VERGILII MARONIS AENEIDOS LIB. I. Edited by John Bithrey. With Introduction, Notes and Vocabulary. Dublin : Browne and Nolan. 1950.

The title suggests just another text of Virgil, with notes whose soundness is guaranteed by the editor's fine scholarship. This book is that, but it is a great deal more. From beginning to end it is the work of a great lover of Virgil. He has studied Virgil closely, dissected and analysed his works ; and Virgil has taken him to himself, revealed to him the secrets of his treasure-house, delighted his ear with his rich and varied cadences, delighted his mind with his noble philosophy of life, his sympathy, full of respect and even reverence, for womanhood and motherhood and childhood, his love of his native land and the glory of those who fought and died for it :

> Egregias animas, quae sanguine nobis
> Hanc patriam peperere suo, decorate supremis
> Muneribus.

He has shown him innumerable other lovely things too, which in a brief review we must pass over. This sounds extravagant praise for a small school text-book; but anyone who reads the little essay on " The Charm of Virgil " in the introduction, and glances through the notes at the end of the text, will feel, I think, that it is deserved.

There is in the Introduction an admirable account of Virgil's metre; it helps one to understand how in the apparently rigid scheme of the hexameter—the only liberties allowed being the choice of a dactyl or a spondee in the first four feet, a very rare spondee in the fifth foot, and the positions of two or three caesuras—there is room for such wonderful variety of cadence. The description of the three ways of reading the poems—as prose, in scansion, or as verse, with the metrical stresses but without breaking up the words—is enlightening and useful. It might perhaps have been in season to warn the student of two peculiarities of English pronunciation, as compared with the Romance languages and presumably with Latin, which make the intelligent reading of Latin verse extremely difficult. In English, the accentual stresses are excessively heavy; also, an unaccented syllable is not only shortened almost to vanishing point but changes its quality. One has only to compare the two pronunciations of " concert " according as it is a noun or a verb. It is quite satisfactory to read

árma virúmque canó,

if the stresses are made light and the second vowel of arma and the first of cano, though short, keep their proper sound. But if the normal heavy stresses of English are used, and cano, as far as its first syllable is concerned, is sounded like canoe, the result is disastrous.

The notes are eminently judicious; not too little and not too much. The work of previous editors is used, but with complete independence of judgement, and Mr. Bithrey has added much of his own. Take for instance that most famous of Virgil's lines: " Sunt lacrimae rerum . . . ." Most readers, including commentators, under the spell of its mysterious beauty and its universal appeal, take the line by itself; Mr. Bithrey replaces it in its context and shows its relation to Troy and its connection with the " sua praemia laudi " of the preceding line. He does not diminish its wealth of suggestion, but he brings it, so to speak, nearer to its source.

This little book will, I hope, help many young (and perhaps some old) people to know and love Virgil. The mechanical production is excellent; paper, printing and binding are all that could be desired.

M. F. E.

HISTORY

THE LIFE AND LEGEND OF ST. PATRICK: Problems of Modern Scholarship. By Ludwig Bieler, Ph.D., M.R.I.A. Dublin: Clonmore and Reynolds. 1949. 12s. 6d.

THE wave of public interest which Dr. O'Rahilly's provocative lecture *The Two Patricks* occasioned some years ago has gradually subsided, and Patrician scholarship has once more become the exclusive domain of the expert. No longer is the general reader tempted to intrude by the intense attraction of the issues at stake; no longer does he turn aside from his newspaper to grapple with the latest controversialist in the pages of a learned periodical. St. Patrick, after a brief period as the central figure of many wordy arguments, has once again ceased to be anything but a saint. For this reason, if for no other, it was a happy thought on the part of Dr. Bieler to produce a work which, in his own words, would seek " to bridge the gulf between learned and popular literature ". Such a task was infinitely more

difficult than either a popular biography of the Saint or a scientific treatment of various Patrician problems. It was like abandoning the sure footing on either side for the dangerous swamps which lie between them. To have succeeded in constructing some sort of bridge over such uninviting territory, even if its foundations are not entirely satisfactory, is therefore a creditable achievement.

The easiest possible criticism of this book would be to say that it falls between two stools. But while one can make this criticism with a certain amount of justification, it does not make full allowance for the indisputable fact that the gap between the scholars and the general public in regard to Patrician literature has become so wide during the past half-century that a fall was almost inevitable. The lines represented by the writings of Bury, MacNeill and O'Rahilly on the one hand and of Healy, Concannon and De Blacam on the other, may have been running in the same direction, but unfortunately they were parallel lines, which each successive writer tended to push further apart. Dr. Bieler is the first writer who has attempted to combine the best of both sides. Certain sections of this book, such as the long introduction to *Quellenkritik* (pp. 24-32) or the discussion of hagiographical literature in general (pp. 108-109), are apt to prove wearisome digressions for those whose interest is mainly Patrician. Other sections, for example the " Scholastic Interlude " on the chronology of St. Patrick and the Irish Annals, while reducing technicalities to a minimum are still liable to repel even the studious general reader. While this may leave both sides somewhat dissatisfied, it can be stated without hesitation that Dr. Bieler's study is as happy a combination of two discordant elements as was possible in the circumstances.

So much for the general plan of the book. In its presentation of the material it contains many excellent features. The survey of Patrician scholarship, past and present, which occupies the introductory chapter, not only provides a bird's-eye view of the work which has been done during the past four centuries, but is a generous tribute on the part of a modern scholar to the scholars of earlier generations. While willing to criticise their work in accordance with present-day standards, the author is not slow to acknowledge the contribution made to the growth of Patrician learning by such much-maligned men as Colgan, Ware and Lanigan. It is pleasant also to find among those listed the name of Fr. Sylvester Malone, who was in many respects a pioneer of modern critical methods, but whose essays, having the misfortune to be followed shortly by the epoch-making work of Bury, never received the recognition which was their due.

Equally deserving of praise is the interpretation of those portions of the *Confessio* which provide biographical details about the Saint. The author's timely warning that St. Patrick nowhere says he was born at *Bannauem Taburniae* will come as an anti-climax after all the ink which has been spilled in vain attempts to identify it. His search for echoes of other writers, both sacred and profane, in the phraseology of the *Confessio*, offered a fruitful field for the author's well-known ability as a Latinist. His conclusions form a valuable corollary to the recent examination of the doctrinal content of the *Confessio* by Fr. Nerney. In a few cases one is inclined to quarrel with the interpretation put forward. The explanation of the phrase (p. 58) *putabam ipso momento audire vocem ipsorum qui erant iuxta silvam Vocluti quae est prope mare occidentale* is an ingenious attempt to get out of a difficulty, but seems to demand an accuracy of idiom in St. Patrick's Latinity which the Saint himself would be the last person to claim for it. The interpretation of the phrase *lingua aliena* (pp. 54-55) has always been a fruitful source of controversy. Dr. Bieler accepts the view that Latin was not St Patrick's native tongue, and the change of language referred to in the *Confessio* is, in his opinion, a change from Patrick's native dialect (British ?) to Latin. This interpretation certainly makes allowance for the existence

of peculiarities in Patrick's Latinity and his almost slavish imitation of Biblical authors. But it seems to miss the whole point of the paragraph, which was surely a comparison of Patrick's position with that of his learned critics. The latter, he says, " never in life changed their language but made a steady progress towards perfection ". Since the language which his critics were not forced to abandon was obviously Latin, it seems reasonable to infer that the language which Patrick had to give up on going to Ireland was likewise Latin. Patrick never forgot till the end of his life that he was a citizen of the Roman Empire, to whom Ireland was a barbarous nation. He would scarcely have acquired this frame of mind if the language of Roman culture and civilisation were not his native tongue.

One would prefer to find a more generous sprinkling of the author's own opinions and suggestions in a work of this kind. For the most part, however, Dr. Bieler has been content to review the difficulties and problems which cover the field of Patrician studies and to call attention to the theories propounded by previous investigators. One of the few instances in which he ventures an original view is his interpretation of the phrase *in altaris sede sedit leprosus* (p. 31). His theory is most convincing. In his approach to the theories of earlier scholars, the author, as might be expected, accepts some and rejects others. It could hardly be supposed that everyone would agree with his choice, and in a few cases one wonders if he has not accepted the less plausible view : e.g. the supposed martyrdom of Palladius (p. 95), the *terminus ad quem* to be used in computing the thirty years interval (p. 69) and more especially the acceptance of the existence of two Patricks while rejecting the identification of Patricius I with Palladius (p. 85).

However these are points on which differences of opinion are only to be expected, and on the whole Dr. Bieler's attitude towards the theories of others is most reasonable. In this connexion it is interesting to note his timely warning (p. 113) against the tradition which has been steadily gaining ground of seeing " nature myths in every miracle in which some place is given to the elements ". Having thus cast off the legendary accretions of centuries and the fanciful theories of scholars he makes a praiseworthy attempt to compile a biographical sketch of his subject (pp. 102-7). A concise biography in five pages, which will confine itself to proved facts, holds great promise for the reader. But the frequent occurrence of such phrases as *probably, perhaps, etc.* will make him conclude that the amount of absolutely certain knowledge about the Saint is very small indeed.

Perhaps the most valuable section of the whole book is the Bibliography and Notes which are inserted at the end. Here the author lists both the sources of his own work and the contributions made by other scholars towards solving the same problems. Its value is greatly enhanced by the intimacy shown with two types of work which have little in common except the fact that both have been somewhat overlooked by many previous Patrician writers : (1) Scholarly contributions to foreign periodicals such as *Analecta Bollandiana, Folia, Thought, Biblica, Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft etc.*, which are ordinarily not within reach of the general reader in this country ; (2) Valuable articles by little-known writers in the various Irish Archaeological and Antiquarian Journals, in which the writers' uncritical methods are often more than compensated for by their amazing knowledge of local history, traditions and topography. This section is arranged in the form of notes to the text rather than as a dry list of sources, and it certainly provides a more comprehensive and easily accessible bibliography of Patrician literature than any other work which has hitherto appeared.

T. F.

HISTORY OF WEST CORK AND THE DIOCESE OF ROSS. By Very Rev. W. Holland, P.P., Skibbereen: Southern Star, Ltd. 1949. Pp. 427.

THE diocese of Ross has a distinction of its own as the smallest diocese in Ireland. Its parishes number eleven and its priests (if we prescind from a religious community of recent formation), twenty-nine. In the early Christian centuries a see so small would cause no surprise; but in feudal Europe, which saw the rise of great ecclesiastical principalities like Cologne, Mainz, Trier and a general tendency to associate bishoprics with populous towns and extensive territories, its continued existence must have been exposed to many perils. But within Ross was a vital spark that proved to be inextinguishable, and from the Synod of Kells in 1152 to the present day the small diocese has not merely lived but prospered. Only during the Penal Days and their aftermath, from the reign of Elizabeth to 1851, was it united with the diocese of Cloyne. What a tribute to the people of this area in Cork that its sturdy spirit of independence has survived the storm and stress of eight centuries!

Father Holland very wisely shows the diocese against its geographical background and therefore includes all West Cork in his historical survey. The *raison d'être* of the see was the fact that the Corca Laoighdhe ranked among the great states of Munster before the conversion of Ireland to Christianity. Vivid memories of that ancient status and glory remained in the twelfth century. There was thus the strongest objection to being lumped ecclesiastically with powerful neighbours. These were the Eoghanachta Raithlenn, a branch of the ruling dynasty of Munster which had made wide conquests along the valley of the Bandon river. In mediaeval times the two leading families of Raithlenn were the O Mahonys and the O Donoghues, before the latter moved across the Derrynasaggart mountains to chieftainship round Killarney. In prestige the Eoghanachta Raithlenn ranked lower than the Eoghanachta of Cashel, who ruled on the famous Rock until their power was broken by Brian Borumha and his descendants, the O Briens. The line then migrated to the south, where it was represented principally by the family of MacCarthy. Another distinguished Eoghanachta sept, represented by the family of O Donovan, was affected by the same revolutionary development and migrated from the neighbourhood of Limerick to West Cork, where it eventually secured possession of a large part of Corca Laoighdhe territory. The chief native family in that area was O Driscoll. After the Norman invasion the situation was further complicated by the rise to prominence of the Barrys and the growth of the mighty lordship of the Fitzgeralds, Earls of Desmond.

There was a tradition among the Corca Laoighdhe that the first converts to Christianity in Ireland came from their midst. This, it was alleged, was before the coming of St. Patrick. The claim might well be true, as the Corca Laoighdhe were an enterprising people, conveniently placed to maintain contact by sea with Christian Gaul and Britain. But it must be confessed that proof is lacking. In fact, the assertion seems to be based on another assertion, the point of which is that St. Ciaran of Saigher was a pre-Patrician saint. His mother was known to have come from Cape Clear and the conclusion lay ready to hand that, if she brought up her son as a Christian and that son were earlier in date than St. Patrick, there must have been Christians in Corca Laoighdhe before the advent of the great missionary. No trace of such Christians is to be found. St. Patrick himself is not credited with missionary work in any part of what is now the county of Cork, and the sixth century arrives before churches of consequence appear in that area. The first saint of note in Corca Laoighdhe is St. Fachtna, founder of the church and monastery at Ross. He died about the year A.D. 600. Mention of abbots and of a *fer légind* (director of studies) in the tenth century proves that Ross had then a flourishing

school. Its emergence as a see at the Synod of Kells points to continued prosperity during the intervening two centuries.

After the Norman Invasion the clash between the English Crown and the Irish princes in appointments to sees was felt in Ross as elsewhere. Victory, in general, seems to have gone to the Irish; but this did not prevent internecine strife such as that in which Blessed Thaddeus MacCarthy became involved at the end of the fifteenth century. He was supported by his own powerful sept; while his right to the bishopric was disputed by an O Driscoll, whose family enjoyed the patronage of the Earl of Desmond. To decide between these and render justice to all concerned was a conundrum for the Roman authorities. These were domestic squabbles, often noisy and always disedifying but never unduly serious. Very different, because the issues were fundamental, were the difficulties which arose at the Reformation and which were the prelude to the long night of the Penal Days.

An outstanding feature of this book is the space devoted to the secular history of West Cork. Fr. Holland seems to know all that has ever been recorded of the chief families of the region—MacCarthys, O Mahonys, O Sullivans, O Driscolls, O Donovans, O Crowleys, O Hurleys, O Heas, Fitzgeralds, de Courceys, Barrys—and his account of their fortunes fills many fascinating pages. He weighs evidence carefully; delivers judgments that impress because they are invariably sound; is not afraid to admit ignorance when the sources are inadequate or contradictory. He can add a light touch even to a genealogy: witness the Randal MacCarthy Riabhach " who sold out to Colonel William Crosbie and left his debts to his wife, Lucy MacCarthy". We can almost hear Lucy's commentary! For planters like the egregious Boyle, Earl of Cork, Fr. Holland does not pretend to feel sympathy; and he can rejoice openly when a ship sent by the Protestant Bishop of Cork to demolish the Franciscan Friary at Timoleague and bring the timber back to roof the episcopal palace, foundered " and the loot went to the bottom " of the local sea.

The story is carried onwards from the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Act to our own day. It is to be noted that this edition is, in a sense, private, since it has been issued to subscribers only. A new edition, for the general public, is obviously called for. We take for granted that Fr. Holland will give this a scientific character by supplying the necessary notes and indicating the authorities on which he relies. The publishers, too, will doubtless do their part by providing suitable paper for the excellent illustrations.

J. R.

EARLIER DIPLOMATIC HISTORY, 1492-1713. By Sir Charles Petrie. London: Hollis and Carter. 1949. 18s.

THIS work is supplementary to the author's previously published *Diplomatic History 1713-1933*. Like the latter, it is a compact volume which narrates the relationships of the States of Europe from the early Renaissance period to the reign of Louis XIV. Woven into a rapid survey of their rise and fall and many vicissitudes is a study of the diplomatic activities of their princes and statesmen during two hundred years. Comprehensive in its scope, the book has a unity of design which is a measure of the skill and fine scholarship of its distinguished author.

One of the fine features of Sir Charles Petrie's work is a masterly study of the growth of Spain and France to great Powers. The opening years of the sixteenth century saw the gradual rise of the former country to supremacy, while its closing years saw its decline. The same tangled century was marked by discords and intermittent quarrels among the Christian princes, which weakened them in the face of the Ottoman power then threatening south-eastern Europe and creating a peril

to Christendom. The clash of conflicting interests led at times to a strange alignment of the Powers. Thus in 1527 France under the Most Christian King was actually leagued with Turkey, the common enemy of Christendom, against the armies of His Catholic Majesty. In May of that year the latter, advancing on the States of the Church, stormed Rome and sacked the capital of the Vicar of Christ. And other similar paradoxes were a feature of the time when, as Sir Charles Petrie observes, the theory of the Balance of Power became a dominant principle of internal politics, and diplomacy in its modern form first appeared.

In its conspectus of the European scene in the sixteenth century the rise of Spain is, as has been said, lucidly traced in this book. Up to the launching of the Armada in 1588 that country held the hegemony of Europe. When the great enterprise failed the command of the sea passed from her and, with the rising prestige and power of England, her sun was setting. In her decline there passed away Philip II, a striking figure in the Europe of his day, of whose character we get a vivid picture in these pages. "Laborious and conscientious, he regarded, in all sincerity, his position as a trust for which he must one day render an account to God . . . . he inspired with awe those who obtained an audience of him : the icy coldness, the fixed stare and a paucity of words all contributed to the result he desired."

Two outstanding events of the period dealt with in the book—the discovery of America and the Reformation—had a profound effect on European politics. The former, while it contributed to the dominance of Europe for a century, considerably increased the potential importance of England, which was till then a Power of minor stature. The Reformation was followed by the disintegration of the Holy Roman Empire, the ending of the conception of a Universal Church, and a long period of religious strife throughout Europe. Religious considerations were to enter more and more into the field of international diplomacy and, as Sir Charles Petrie aptly puts it, the Reformation was to cut across national loyalties and to introduce ideological lines of division as its aftermath.

In the game of diplomacy and of wars during the two hundred years Ireland was more than once involved. In the conflict between Spain and England at the end of the sixteenth century the Desmond insurrection set Munster and much of Ireland in a blaze. The queen of England was materially encouraging the Protestant rebels in the Spanish Netherlands, while Philip II was intriguing with the Irish chieftains. When military assistance did come to Ireland from the Spanish king, it was on too small a scale to be effective. As a sidelight on this, Sir Charles Petrie states that Philip was perpetually crippled by lack of money, and his commitments were so extensive that he always experienced the greatest difficulty in assembling a sufficient force at the right time and in the right place. A hundred years later, when Ireland was again to her cost a pawn in the game of European diplomacy, Louis XIV committed the same mistake of sending insufficient aid to the Jacobite army.

This book, written generally with an admirable detachment, is a worthy successor to its companion volume and, with its opportune appearance at the present period, should prove of value for all students of international affairs.

R. H.

ANALECTA HIBERNICA, No. 17. Dublin : Stationery Office. 1949. Pp. vii & 353. 10s. 6d.

THREE years have passed since the publication of the last number of *Analecta Hibernica,* organ of the Irish Manuscripts Commission. This current number has made its appearance regrettably late in view of the fact that the first of its two main presentations might have helped to stimulate research on the subject of the

United Irishmen when the State celebrations of the Rising of 1798 were in progress a year ago. This presentation, by Dr. McDowell, is entitled " The Proceedings of the Dublin Society of the United Irishmen ". Here for the first time we have, published in full, the secret correspondence of Thomas Collins, a paid spy of Dublin Castle, who for four years 1791 to 1795 kept the government informed of all that took place at the meetings of the Dublin United Irishmen. Students of Irish history are aware of course that these documents have been under the notice of historians for close on seventy years. The principal items of these letters of Thomas Collins have been incorporated in Fitzpatrick's well-known work *Secret Service under Pitt*. The ordinary reader of history will be content with what is provided by Fitzpatrick. Research students, however, will welcome the labour-saving that is presented by Dr. McDowell in this number of *Analecta*—but only in the event that the Irish Manuscripts Commission see fit to publish a series of other contemporary documents so that we may have a fuller *apparatus criticus* for the study of the Rebellion period than is at present easily accessible. For instance, the Westmoreland letters at the State Paper Office are a mine of information, on the years covered by the Collins letters, that has not yet been fully exploited. The fact remains that the Collins correspondence taken by itself would not justify the expenditure of public money. Dr. McDowell's presentation could have been considerably enhanced, if the Irish Manuscripts Commission had had prepared a calendar of the State Papers on the activities of the United Irishmen throughout the rest of Ireland, county by county.

Miss Beryl Eustace presents an " Index of Will Abstracts in the Genealogical Office, Dublin ". The foreword is excellent. Miss Beryl Eustace tells us that this index does not include Betham's Will pedigree series to 1800 which has been listed in Sir Arthur Vicars' *Index to the Prerogative Wills of Ireland* 1536-1810. It is confusing to find however that many entries in Vicars, page by page, are reproduced in this index which we are to suppose is in every respect additional to Betham's pedigrees as listed in Vicars. The important point to remember is that Miss Beryl Eustace has focused attention on a source of information that makes up, in some small way, for the destruction of Irish Prerogative and Consistorial wills in the burning of the Public Record Office, 1922. What of the information that this new index reveals? Returned Americans will not easily recognise the names or addresses of their ancestors in this source. The " Os " and " Macs " are none too plentiful, but there is an abundance of the names of " gentles and commons " who consented to take up residence in Ireland in the wake of the " liberations " successively effected by a certain Lord Protector and a King of pious, glorious and immortal memory. Etymologists and cartographers will have scope for their ingenuity in locating and explaining some of the addresses set forth in the index. We find, at random, Balley-cuanbery, Co. Wicklow; Clotaney, King's Co.; Mount Terrible, Co. Monaghan; Cahanconeff, Co. Limerick. A gentleman named Archbold possessed " Breane " as Christian name. The suggested emendation of Breane to Barnaby will be looked on askance in these days of the Irish revival.

It is not unfair comment to suggest that this index of wills might have been left for publication as an appendix to the long-awaited Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records. Hitherto the work of indexing wills which have been salved or secured in copy has been competently carried out by the Public Record Office (Department of Justice). But there has not appeared a Deputy Keeper's Report on the Public Records for fourteen years. The Cosgrave regime produced four such reports; the de Valera regime produced one. The mere cataloguing of Public Record accessions (1936-1950) runs to well over 2,000 pages of foolscap. No reflection or censure on the courteous officials or staff of the Public Record Office is implied. Taken by and large the expenditure of public money on the production

of such a report might well have taken precedence over the production of the present number of *Analecta*. The obituary notice of Eoin MacNeill by Fr. John Ryan S.J. is a gracious and well deserved tribute to the memory of the first chairman of the Irish Manuscripts Commission.

F. F.

Politics and Sociology

POWER AND MORALS. By Martin J. Hillenbrand. New York: Columbia University Press. London: Geoffrey Cumberlege. 1949. 18s. net.

This book is devoted to a study of " Power " in the modern state. Power has always been a problem ; but the problem has assumed, in the modern world, a new aspect owing to technicological advances which have so vastly intensified the force now at the command of those who have control of the state. Everyone is acquainted with Lord Acton's dictum : " Power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely ". In the past, corruption could be dangerous to rulers since successful revolution was often a possibility. Revolution is much less feasible now and, as a result, the problem of the control of power is a central problem in modern politics.

Mr. Hillenbrand suggests two remedies for power combined with force. The first is greater force which may be exercised by a group like the League of Nations. One is reminded of Locke's statement : " The true remedy of force without authority is to oppose force to it ". This remedy, however, suffers from a twofold weakness. Such a league, as experience shows, is difficult to secure and, when secured, may itself exercise force unjustly. The second remedy would be a correct philosophy of state-power universally acknowledged and universally carried into effect in practice. This, obviously, implies optimism of a high order ; it also implies a whole host of presuppositions, some but not all of which Mr. Hillenbrand examines in this book. How far are ideas, and in particular philosophical ideas, effective in conduct ? How far does history show that, when and where such correct ideas prevailed, the problem of power was in fact solved ? Complex and intricate problems of human motivation arise in all directions. And again in the modern world how is one to get the key-people to accept such a correct philosophy ? Mr. Hillenbrand is prepared to do his part by showing in this book what a correct political theory may be taken to be.

In general Mr. Hillenbrand gives quite an adequate account of the traditional Christian theory of politics. He first critically considers unsatisfactory answers to the problem of power and then, in the second part, discusses such fundamental issues as Natural Law, the Function of Violence, and the Power of Authority and Liberty. The reader will get, as I have said, an adequate account of the traditional theories here if his patience is not exhausted by the intensely " American " style—a style now very usual in American university literature. This is often amusing and entertaining, but it can also be a little overwhelming. On the whole the book is accurate, although there are occasional lapses as when the title of Locke's *Treatises* is incorrectly given. Hobbes, again, does not call the state a *martial* but a *mortal* god (p. 38). And it is more than inaccurate to refer to Earl Balfour as a sceptic on the sole authority of the *title* of one of his philosophical writings (p. 60). Occasionally the author quotes more literature than he has under control. D. O'K.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH. A Study in Economic Philosophy. By Leo S. Schumacher, M.A. Catholic University of America Press. 1949. Pages x and 138.

Maldistribution of the world's wealth is probably the main cause of modern

social unrest and political tension. To effect a more equitable distribution, between nations as well as between individuals, is not only a demand of justice but also an essential condition for the preservation of peace. Father Schumacher's book, therefore, is not only of theoretical interest but has to-day a high practical value. It searches the philosophy of St. Thomas for the answers to two questions: what is an equitable distribution of wealth and how can it be effected? As the Angelic Doctor does not deal *ex professo* with these problems, the deduction of the answers from Thomistic principles gives the author his opportunity for that exercise of research and originality which we expect in a doctorate thesis. Two chapters are added, dealing with the effect of Capitalist and of Collectivist philosophies on the distribution of wealth. These form an interesting contrast to the teaching of St. Thomas, but they are not as firmly based on an examination of primary sources as the main section of the dissertation.

The most interesting Thomistic principle which the author uses in endeavouring to answer his first question, is that which states that an equitable distribution of wealth is not a quantitatively equal one. St. Thomas was no egalitarian. He held that the amount of a person's wealth should be determined not merely by his human needs but also by his function in society, his service to the common good. The more valuable that service, the higher should be the status of the person who rendered it, and possessions should be proportionate to status. Theoretically, the Thomistic principle is very satisfactory, but one is tempted to be despondent about its practical realisation in the society of to-day. Yet it would be wrong to yield to fainthearted-ness; we must keep on insisting on the Thomistic principle till in time men have been educated to appraise the services of their fellowmen at their true worth. Then we shall be well on the way to fairer distribution.

The further useful principles, which Fr. Schumacher has been able to extract from Thomism, are all reducible to various modes of exercising the virtues of justice and charity. He shows impressively how the demands of commutative, distributive and legal justice, applied to prices, wages, interest, rent and profits, and to the organisation and working of political and economic institutions, would even out gross inequalities of fortune and restore contentment and security. That passage of *Quadragesimo Anno* in which Pius XI speaks of social justice and social charity as the true guiding principles of economic life, receives rich illustration from this part of Fr. Schumacher's essay. Incidentally modern ethical problems are touched upon. Such are: the apportionment of the world's material resources as between different nations; the ethical justification of different living standards in different countries; the duty of husbanding mineral resources, soil fertility, and other material wealth for the benefit of future generations. In the concluding summary there is a useful enumeration of the institutional reforms called for by the principles enunciated in the course of the essay.

Father Schumacher, I think, deserves our thanks as well as our congratulations on his useful thesis. He has given his readers a helpful compendium of Thomistic principles bearing on a variety of highly topical problems, while competently illuminating his central problem by age-old teachings. There are some points of detail on which we would like further light. In criticising liberal economic theory, for instance, we should have liked some treatment of the ideas of such modern liberals as Hayek in England and Henry Bamford Parkes in the United States of America. Some of his formulations, too—for instance in explaining St. Thomas's view on private ownership—could be more accurate. Yet these are minor blemishes in a worth-while and competently-executed thesis.

M. C.

THE HISTORY AND SOCIAL INFLUENCE OF THE POTATO. By Redcliffe N. Salaman. Cambridge University Press. 1949. 50s.

This book—the fulfilment of what was originally, so the author explains, an undifferentiated ambition to study and " write up " some vegetable—is by way of being the work of a lifetime. In it, sifting masses of evidence at every stage of the argument, Dr. Salaman tentatively establishes the shores of Lake Titicaca in Peru as the ancestral home of the Andean potato, traces from here the evolution of our own *Solanum tuberosum* and attempts a circumstantial account of how, late in the sixteenth century, the tuber in some variety or other reached Europe (probably Spain first, and not Ireland) and slowly began to spread across the continent. The interesting suggestion is made that in Ireland it was first generally favoured because of its relative invulnerability as an underground crop to devastation during the Essex and Mountjoy campaigns. Very few data of any kind can have been overlooked. (There is no mention of " tatie-hokers ", nor of the fact that Skibbereen's Famine experience is still recalled in the local nickname " Skibbereen-Where-They-Ate-the-Donkeys " ; but it is only a testimony to the scope of the book that the omission of outlandish items like this should be surprising). Potato recipes, potato superstitions, literary references to the potato are all quoted freely from contemporary sources. At the same time the narration is rather unsystematic, and large broad features of general significance, like the downward direction in which the potato habit made its way through Scottish society from better-off households to poorer, are easily lost sight of among so many digressions—worth while as these are in their own way. Some of the " background ", in the reviewer's opinion, could be dispensed with too.

One of the chief attractions of the work, which it owes entirely to the author's curiosity and wide human sympathies, lies in its stray information about habits of the poor of various times and places—not every geneticist turning his hand to social inquiry would have been alive to these details at all. It is for this reason a pity that the story—though the illustrative plates show up-to-date machinery like the Johnson lifter—tails off without covering recent years adequately. For instance, are potatoes not in joint demand with fish as " chips " and with beer and stout as " crisps " ? And on the production side, how do modern methods of potato-harvesting react on employment in the manufacture of baskets, galvanised buckets and sacks ?—these matters would have been worth exploring.

However, the book as it stands is a very full and valuable record. Its worst defects are errors of spelling and punctuation and some faulty sentence-construction.

P. B.

Books Received

Beamish, Tufton. Must Night Fall? (Hollis & Carter, 12/6).

Cassidy, James. Our Lady's Missioner : St. Louis de Montfort. (Gill, 3/-).

Clarke, Isabel. Maria Edgeworth. (Hutchinson, 18/-).

Clifford, James [Editor]. Pope and his Contemporaries. (Clarendon Press, 30/-).

Combes, Andre. The Spirituality of Saint Thérèse. (Gill, 10/6).

Crowley, Theodore. Roger Bacon. (Duffy, 21/-)

Daniel-Rops. Israel and the Ancient World. (Eyre & Spottiswoode, 16/-).

Dawson, Christopher. Religion and Rise of Western Culture. (Sheed & Ward, 15/-).

Donnelly, James. Decline of Medieval Cistercian Laybrotherhood. (Fordham University Press, pp. 103).

Englebert, Omer. Saint Francis of Assisi. (Burns Oates, 16/-).

Feiling, Keith. History of England: From Beginning to 1918. (Macmillan, 30/-).

Freeman, Kathleen. Greek City States. (MacDonald).

George, Father. Through God's Underworld. (Clonmore & Reynolds, 10/6).

Gilby, Thomas. Phoenix and Turtle. (Longmans, 16/-).

Guthrie, W. K. C. Greek Philosophers : From Thales to Aristotle. (Methuen, 5/-).

Halecki, Oscar. Limits and Divisions of European History. (Sheed & Ward, 10/6).

Hunt, R. N. Carew. Theory and Practice of Communism. (Geoffrey Bles, 12/6).

Hurley, Thomas. Father Michael Browne, S.J. (Clonmore & Reynolds, 12/6).

Lindsay, Jack. Charles Dickens. (Andrew Dakers, 18/-).

Lindsay, T. F. Saint Benedict : His Life and Work. (Burns Oates, 10/6).

McCracken, G. Arnobius of Sicca: Case against the Pagans. (Newman Press, $3.25).

Mahood, M. M. Poetry and Humanism. (Cape, 16/-).

Mansergh, Nicholas. Coming of the first World War. (Longmans, 15/-).

Martindale, C. C. The Faith of the Roman Church. (Sheed & Ward, 7/6).

Martindale, C. C. The Spirit of God. (Sheed & Ward, 7/6).

Maxwell, Constantia. Country and Town in Ireland under the Georges. (Tempest, 21/-).

Menendez, Sister Josefa. The Way of Divine Love. (Sands, 15/-).

Merton, Thomas. Seeds of Contemplation. (Clonmore & Reynolds, 8/6).

Murphy, Seamus. Stone Mad. (Golden Eagle Books, 12/6).

Namier, L. B. Europe in Decay. (Macmillan, 16/-).

Noyes, Alfred. The Unknown God. New Edition. (Sheed & Ward, 8/6).

Oliver, Father. Fair as the Moon. (Gill, 12/6).

Pick, F. W. Peacemaking in Perspective. (Pen-in-Hand Books, 10/6).

Price, Liam. Place-names in Wicklow. (Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 2/-).

Rahmat Ali, C. Pakistan : Fatherland of the Pak Nation. (Cambridge, 20/-).

Schenk, W. Reginald Pole, Cardinal of England. (Longmans, 15/-).

Schlesinger, Bruno. Christopher Dawson and the Modern Political Crisis. (Notre Dame, pp. 91).

Stransky, Jan. East Wind over Prague. (Hollis & Carter, 10/6).

Whitely, C. H. An Introduction to Metaphysics. (Methuen, 8/6).

Wilde, Robert. Treatment of the Jews in Greek Christian Writers. (Catholic University Press, pp. 254).

Zeller, Hubert van. Moments of Light. (Burns Oates, 7/6).

Zeller, Hubert van. Famine of the Spirit. (Burns Oates, 7/6).

University College
DUBLIN

A Constituent College of
The National University of Ireland

SESSION 1949-50

THE College provides Courses for the Degrees of the National University of Ireland in the Faculties of Arts, Philosophy, Celtic Studies, Science, Law, Medicine, Engineering and Architecture, and Commerce.

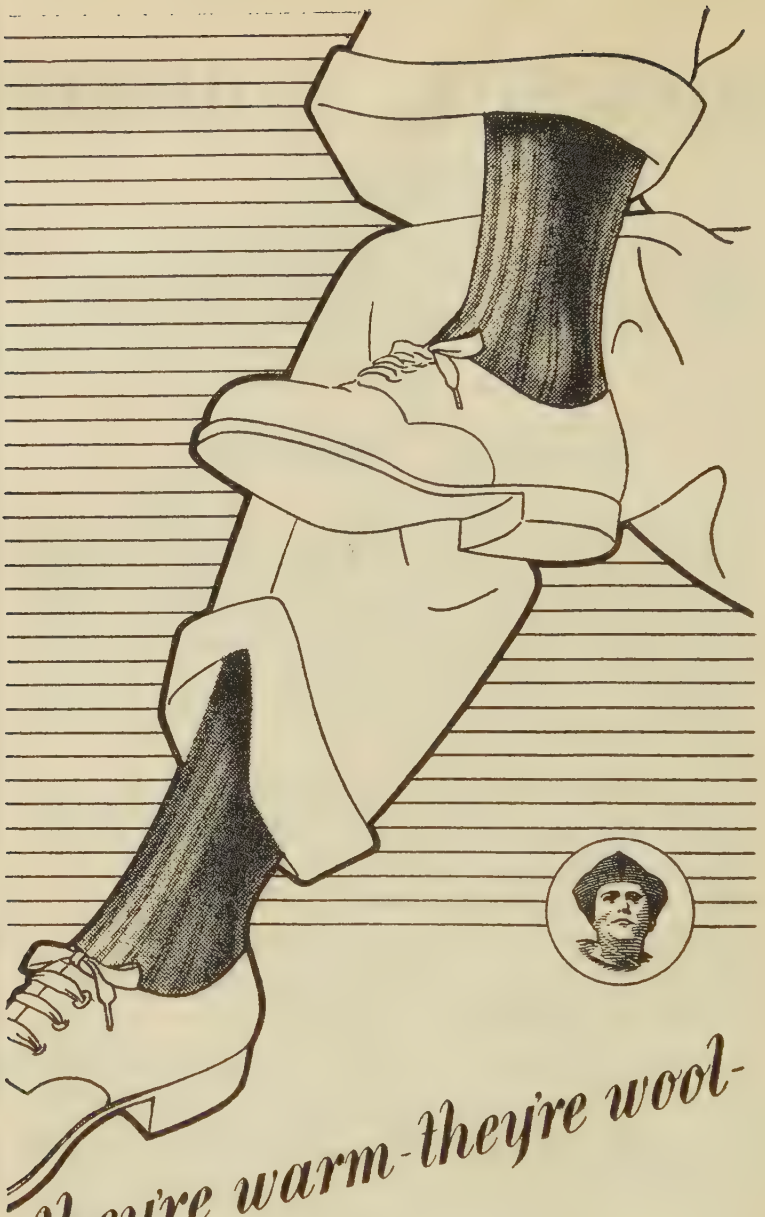
The following Regulations for the College Courses, etc., may be obtained on application :—

1. General Regulations, Scholarships, Fees.
2. Courses for Degrees in Arts, Philosophy, Celtic Studies.
3. Courses for Degrees in Science.
4. Courses for Degrees in Law.
5. Courses for Degrees in Medicine and Dentistry.
6. Courses for Degrees in Engineering and Architecture.
7. Courses for Degrees in Commerce.

College Scholarships and Prizes to the value of about £3,500 (not including Scholarships provided by the Corporation of Dublin and by the County Councils) are open to competition amongst Student-Members of the College.

Letters in reference to Courses of Study should be addressed to the Registrar of the College, Earlsfort Terrace. All Students' Fees due to the College are to be paid to the SECRETARY, University College, Dublin.

The College Offices at Earlsfort Terrace are open daily.



they're warm - they're wool -

they're **Wolsey**

CARDINAL SOCKS

Advertisement of Sunbeam Wolsey Ltd., Millfield, Cork

Telegrams—"HOSIERY, DUBLIN." Telephone No. 77770.

KENNEDY & McSHARRY

Shirt Makers, Hosiers, Hatters
and General Outfitters, :: ::

24 WESTMORELAND STREET,
—— And 3 D'OLIER STREET, DUBLIN

ROWS AND ROWS AND ROWS

of

ROWAN'S FINEST SEEDS

ARE SOWN
TO PRODUCE BOUNTIFUL AND SATISFYING CROPS.

Particulars of the "Quality" Strains in seeds featured by "THE HOUSE OF ROWAN" will be found in New Season's catalogues posted and presented free. That for the garden is ready in January; for the farm in March; and also for the Beekeeper in April.

M. ROWAN & CO. LTD.

THE HOUSE OF ROWAN

SEED MERCHANTS and SEED GROWERS
and Specialists in BEEKEEPERS' SUPPLIES

51, 52 CAPEL ST. - 1, 2 WESTMORELAND ST.
DUBLIN

FARRELL'S

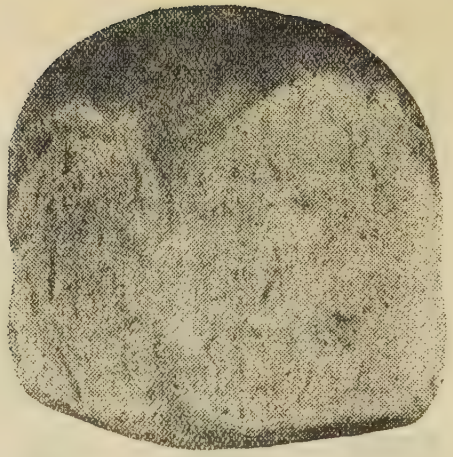
Telephone 73426.

FUNERAL AND CARRIAGE ESTABLISHMENT
:: SALOON MOTOR HEARSES and CARS ::

66 MARLBOROUGH STREET

Established over 100 Years. DUBLIN

The Family Favourite



KENNEDY'S HEARTH *loaf*

Peter Kennedy Ltd., Dublin.

ALEX. THOM & CO., LTD.

PRINTERS, PUBLISHERS,
BOOKBINDERS, STATIONERS

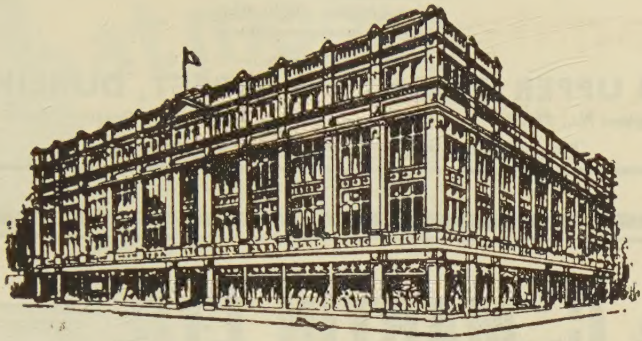
LARGE RESOURCES FOR PRINTING IN GAELIC

Books, Magazines and Periodicals
produced by Latest Methods.

Try "THOM'S" for your next Printing Order.
Our Service and our Prices will please you.
"Studies" is a specimen of our work. :: ::

Head Offices: CROW STREET
WORKS :: :: BOTANIC ROAD, GLASNEVIN

CLERYS



Ireland's Great Department Store where Forty-one Shops in one supply your every need at Small Profit Bargain Prices.

3 FLOOR RESTAURANT — FULLY LICENSED

CLERY and CO. (1941) LTD. Denis Guiney, Managing Director

McEvovs

FURNITURE
. of .
DISTINCTION

NEW, SECOND-HAND, ANTIQUE
AT MOST MODERATE PRICES

LAWLOR, BRISCOE & CO. Ltd.

M.I.A.A.

34 & 35 LOWER ORMOND QUAY
DUBLIN

ESTABLISHED 1824

T. W. & J. KELLY, LTD.

Oldest House for Pure Altar Wines

Price List on application

Offices and Vaults :—

58 UPPER O'CONNELL STREET, DUBLIN

Telephone No.: 73095 *Telegrams : "Threekays, Dublin"*

No connection with any other firm of the same name

T. & C. MARTIN LTD.

D'Olier House, Dublin

IRISH-MADE

Church and School Furniture

Telephone
Dublin 71571 (P.B.Exch.)

Telegrams
"Martin, Dublin"

Works: **NORTH WALL, DUBLIN**

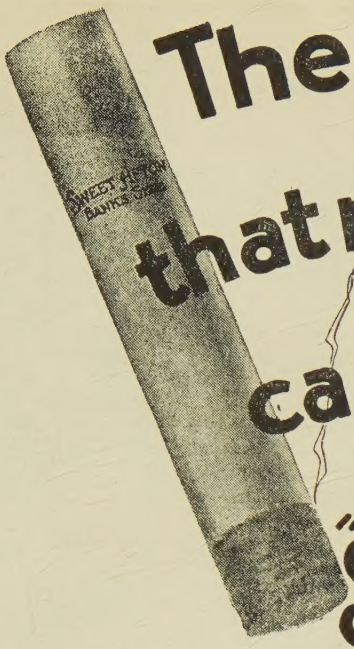
D. MURPHY LTD.

PROVISION MERCHANTS

Over half a century's reputation

25-26 MARY'S ABBEY, DUBLIN

PHONE: DUBLIN 75171



The best that money can buy

"SWEET AFTON"
CIGARETTES

VAUXHALL
BEDFORD
DUBLIN BUILT
CHEVROLET
Buick

Specialised Service

AND SPARE PARTS

McCairns Motors Ltd

Service Station TARA STREET DUBLIN.

PRINTED BY SEALY, BRYERS & WALKER, DUBLIN